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DE BELLO GALLICO

COMMENTARIUS SEXTUS.

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GAI IULI CAESARIS

DE BELLO GALLICO

COMMENTARIUS SEXTUS

WITH ENGLISH NOTES

BY

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FELLOW OF MAGDALENE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

NEW EDITION, REVISED.

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PREFACE TO FIRST EDITION.

THE sixth book of the Commentaries, containing Caesar's valuable but far too brief account of the social institutions and religious beliefs of the ancient Gauls and Germans, opens out a wide field of enquiry and discussion, lying for the most part out of the range of a school edition such as the present. I have contented myself with drawing the reader's attention to the more important points and sometimes indicating further sources of information. In preparing my notes I have derived great assistance from the various editions of the Commentaries and the works of reference to which I have expressed my obligations in my editions of the previous books. For the part relating to Gaul M. Desjardins' "Géographie de la Gaule Romaine" is almost indispensable. Some special obligations are mentioned in their place. A map taken on a reduced scale and with some alterations from the Atlas to Napoleon's "Histoire de Jules César" accompanies this edition.

March 1882.

PREFACE TO NEW EDITION.

In this edition a few mistakes have been corrected, and some slight additions made to the Appendix.

January 1886.

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C. IULII CAESARIS

COMMENTARIORUM

DE BELLO GALLICO

LIBER SEXTUS.

1. Multis de causis Caesar maiorem Galliae motum expectans per Marcum Silanum, Gaium Antistium Reginum, Titum Sextium legatos delectum habere instituit; simul ab Gneo Pompeio proconsule petit, quoniam ipse ad urbem cum imperio rei publicae causa remaneret, quos ex Cisalpina Gallia consulis sacramento rogavisset, ad signa convenire et ad se proficisci iuberet, magni interesse etiam in reliquum tempus ad opinionem Galliae existumans tantas videri Italiae facultates, ut, si quid esset in bello detrimenti acceptum, non modo id brevi tempore resarciri, sed etiam maioribus augeri copiis posset. Quod cum Pompeius et rei publicae et amicitiae tribuisset, celeriter confecto per suos delectu tribus ante exactam hiemem et constitutis et adductis legionibus duplicatoque earum cohortium numero, quas cum Q. Titurio amiserat, et celeritate et copiis docuit, quid populi Romani disciplina atque opes possent.

2. Interfecto Indutiomaro, ut docuimus, ad eius propinquos a Treveris imperium defertur. Illi finitimos Germanos sollicitare et pecuniam polliceri non desistunt. Cum ab proximis impetrare non possent, ulteriores temptant.

Inventis nonnullis civitatibus iureiurando inter se confirmant obsidibusque de pecunia cavent: Ambiorigem sibi societate et foedere adiungunt. Quibus rebus cognitis Caesar cum undique bellum parari videret, Nervios, Aduatucos, Menapios adiunctis Cisrhenanis omnibus Germanis esse in armis, Senones ad imperatum non venire et cum Carnutibus finitumisque civitatibus consilia communicare, a Treveris Germanos crebris legationibus sollicitari, maturius sibi de bello cogitandum putavit. 3. Itaque nondum hieme confecta proximis quattuor coactis legionibus de improviso in fines Nerviorum contendit et, priusquam illi aut convenire aut profugere possent, magno pecoris atque hominum numero capto atque ea praeda militibus concessa vastatisque agris in deditionem venire atque obsides sibi dare coëgit. Eo celeriter confecto negotio rursus in hiberna legiones reduxit. Concilio Galliae primo vere, ut instituerat, indicto, cum reliqui praeter Senones, Carnutes Treverosque venissent, initium belli ac defectionis hoc esse arbitratus, ut omnia postponere videretur, concilium Lutetiam Parisiorum transfert. Confines erant hi Senonibus civitatemque patrum memoria coniunxerant, sed ab hoc consilio afuisse existimabantur. Hac re pro suggestu pronuntiata eodem die cum legionibus in Senones proficiscitur magnisque itineribus eo pervenit. 4. Cognito eius adventu Acco, qui princeps eius consilii fuerat, iubet in oppida multitudinem convenire. Conantibus, priusquam id effici posset, adesse Romanos nuntiatur. Necessario sententia desistunt legatosque deprecandi causa ad Caesarem mittunt: adeunt per Aeduos, quorum antiquitus erat in fide civitas. Libenter Caesar petentibus Aeduis dat veniam excusationemque accipit, quod aestivum tempus instantis belli, non quaestionis esse arbitratur. Obsidibus imperatis centum hos Aeduis custodiendos tradit. Eodem Carnutes legatos obsidesque mittunt usi de-

precatoribus Remis, quorum erant in clientela: eadem ferunt responsa. Peragit concilium Caesar equitesque imperat civitatibus. 5. Hac parte Galliae pacata totus et mente et animo in bellum Treverorum et Ambiorigis insistit. Cavarinum cum equitatu Senonum secum proficisci iubet, ne quis aut ex huius iracundia aut ex eo, quod meruerat, odio civitatis motus existat. His rebus constitutis quod pro explorato habebat Ambiorigem proelio non esse concertaturum, reliqua eius consilia animo circumspiciebat. Erant Menapii propinqui Eburonum finibus, perpetuis paludibus silvisque muniti, qui uni ex Gallia de pace ad Caesarem legatos numquam miserant. Cum his esse hospitium Ambiorigi sciebat; item per Treveros venisse Germanis in amicitiam cognoverat. Haec prius illi detrahenda auxilia existimabat quam ipsum bello lacesseret, ne desperata salute aut se in Menapios abderet aut cum Transrhenanis congredi cogeretur. Hoc inito consilio totius exercitus impedimenta ad Labienum in Treveros mittit duasque legiones ad eum proficisci iubet; ipse cum legionibus expeditis quinque in Menapios proficiscitur. Illi nulla coacta manu loci praesidio freti in silvas paludesque confugiunt suaque eodem conferunt. 6. Caesar partitis copiis cum Gaio Fabio legato et Marco Crasso quaestore celeriterque effectis pontibus adit tripertito, aedificia vicosque incendit, magno pecoris atque hominum numero potitur. Quibus rebus coacti Menapii legatos ad eum pacis petendae causa mittunt. Ille obsidibus acceptis hostium se habiturum numero confirmat, si aut Ambiorigem aut eius legatos finibus suis recepissent. His confirmatis rebus Commium Atrebatem cum equitatu custodis loco in Menapiis relinquit; ipse in Treveros proficiscitur.

7. Dum haec a Caesare geruntur, Treveri magnis coactis peditatus equitatusque copiis Labienum cum una legione,

quae in eorum finibus hiemaverat, adoriri parabant, iamque ab eo non longius bidui via aberant, cum duas venisse legiones missu Caesaris cognoscunt. Positis castris a milibus passuum XV auxilia Germanorum expectare constituunt. Labienus hostium cognito consilio sperans temeritate eorum fore aliquam dimicandi facultatem, praesidio quinque cohortium impedimentis relicto cum XXV cohortibus magnoque equitatu contra hostem proficiscitur et mille passuum intermisso spatio castra communit. Erat inter Labienum atque hostem difficili transitu flumen ripisque praeruptis. Hoc neque ipse transire habebat in animo neque hostes transituros existimabat. Augebatur auxiliorum cotidie spes. Loquitur in consilio palam, quoniam Germani adpropinquare dicantur, sese suas exercitusque fortunas in dubium non devocaturum et postero die prima luce castra moturum. Celeriter haec ad hostes deferuntur, ut ex magno Gallorum equitum numero nonnullos Gallicis rebus favere natura cogebat. Labienus noctu tribunis militum primisque ordinibus convocatis quid sui sit consilii proponit et, quo facilius hostibus timoris det suspicionem, maiore strepitu et tumultu, quam populi Romani fert consuetudo, castra moveri iubet. His rebus fugae similem profectionem effecit. Haec quoque per exploratores ante lucem in tanta propinquitate castrorum ad hostes deferuntur. 8. Vix agmen novissimum extra munitiones processerat, cum Galli cohortati inter se, ne speratam praedam ex manibus dimitterent, longum esse perterritis Romanis Germanorum auxilium expectare, neque suam pati dignitatem, ut tantis copiis tam exiguam manum praesertim fugientem atque impeditam adoriri non audeant, flumen transire et iniquo loco committere proelium non dubitant. Quae fore suspicatus Labienus, ut omnes citra flumen eliceret, eadem usus simulatione itineris placide progrediebatur. Tum praemissis paulum impedimentis atque

in tumulo quodam collocatis, Habetis, inquit, milites, quam petistis facultatem: hostem impedito atque iniquo loco tenetis: praestate eandem nobis ducibus virtutem, quam saepenumero imperatori praestitistis, atque illum adesse et haec coram cernere existimate. Simul signa ad hostem converti aciemque dirigi iubet et paucis turmis praesidio ad impedimenta dimissis reliquos equites ad latera disponit. Celeriter nostri clamore sublato pila in hostes immittunt. Illi, ubi praeter spem quos fugere credebant infestis signis ad se ire viderunt, impetum modo ferre non potuerunt ac primo concursu in fugam coniecti proxumas silvas petiverunt. Quos Labienus equitatu consectatus magno numero interfecto, compluribus captis paucis post diebus civitatem recepit. Nam Germani, qui auxilio veniebant, percepta Treverorum fuga sese domum receperunt. Cum his propinqui Indutiomari, qui defectionis auctores fuerant, comitati eos ex civitate excesserunt. Cingetorigi, quem ab initio permansisse in officio demonstravimus, principatus atque imperium est traditum.

9. Caesar postquam ex Menapiis in Treveros venit, duabus de causis Rhenum transire constituit; quarum una erat, quod auxilia contra se Treveris miserant, altera, ne ad eos Ambiorix receptum haberet. His constitutis rebus paulum supra eum locum, quo ante exercitum traduxerat, facere pontem instituit. Nota atque instituta ratione magno militum studio paucis diebus opus efficitur. Firmo in Treveris ad pontem praesidio relicto, ne quis ab his subito motus oreretur, reliquas copias equitatumque traducit. Ubii, qui ante obsides dederant atque in deditionem venerant, purgandi sui causa ad eum legatos mittunt, qui doceant neque auxilia ex sua civitate in Treveros missa neque ab se fidem laesam: petunt atque orant, ut sibi parcat, ne communi odio Germanorum innocentes pro nocentibus

poenas pendant; si amplius obsidum vellet, dare pollicentur. Cognita Caesar causa reperit ab Suebis auxilia missa esse; Ubiorum satisfactionem accipit, aditus viasque in Suebos perquirit. 10. Interim paucis post diebus fit ab Ubiis certior Suebos omnes in unum locum copias cogere atque eis nationibus, quae sub eorum sint imperio, denuntiare, ut auxilia peditatus equitatusque mittant. His cognitis rebus rem frumentariam providet, castris idoneum locum deligit; Ubiis imperat, ut pecora deducant suaque omnia ex agris in oppida conferant, sperans barbaros atque imperitos homines inopia cibariorum adductos ad iniquam pugnandi condicionem posse deduci, mandat, ut crebros exploratores in Suebos mittant quaeque apud eos gerantur cognoscant. Illi imperata faciunt et paucis diebus intermissis referunt: Suebos omnes, posteaquam certiores nuntii de exercitu Romanorum venerint, cum omnibus suis sociorumque copiis, quas coëgissent, penitus ad extremos fines se recepisse: silvam esse ibi infinita magnitudine, quae appellatur Bacenis; hanc longe introrsus pertinere et pro nativo muro obiectam Cheruscos ab Suebis Suebosque ab Cheruscis iniuriis incursionibusque prohibere: ad eius initium silvae Suebos adventum Romanorum expectare constituisse.

11. Quoniam ad hunc locum perventum est, non alienum esse videtur de Galliae Germaniaeque moribus et quo differant hae nationes inter sese proponere. In Gallia non solum in omnibus civitatibus atque in omnibus pagis partibusque, sed paene etiam singulis domibus factiones sunt, earumque factionum principes sunt qui summam auctoritatem eorum iudicio habere existumantur, quorum ad arbitrium iudiciumque summa omnium rerum consiliorumque redeat. Itaque eius rei causa antiquitus institutum videtur, ne quis ex plebe contra potentiorem auxilii egeret: suos enim quisque opprimi et circumveniri non patitur, neque

aliter si faciat, ullam inter suos habet auctoritatem. Haec eadem ratio est in summa totius Galliae: namque omnes civitates in partes divisae sunt duas. 12. Cum Caesar in Galliam venit, alterius factionis principes erant Aedui, alterius Sequani. Hi cum per se minus valerent, quod summa auctoritas antiquitus erat in Aeduis magnaeque eorum erant clientelae, Germanos atque Ariovistum sibi adiunxerant, eosque ad se magnis iacturis pollicitationibusque perduxerant. Proeliis vero compluribus factis secundis atque omni nobilitate Aeduorum interfecta tantum potentia antecesserant, ut magnam partem clientium ab Aeduis ad se traducerent obsidesque ab eis principum filios acciperent et publice iurare cogerent, nihil se contra Sequanos consilii inituros, et partem finitumi agri per vim occupatam possiderent Galliaeque totius principatum obtinerent. Qua necessitate adductus Divitiacus auxilii petendi causa Romam ad senatum profectus imperfecta re redierat. Adventu Caesaris facta commutatione rerum, obsidibus Aeduis redditis, veteribus clientelis restitutis, novis per Caesarem comparatis, quod hi, qui se ad eorum amicitiam adgregaverant, meliore condicione atque aequiore imperio se uti videbant, reliquis rebus eorum gratia dignitateque amplificata Sequani principatum dimiserant. In eorum locum Remi successerant: quos quod adaequare apud Caesarem gratia intellegebatur, ei, qui propter veteres inimicitias nullo modo cum Aeduis coniungi poterant, se Remis in clientelam dicabant. Hos illi diligenter tuebantur: ita et novam et repente collectam auctoritatem tenebant. Eo tum statu res erat, ut longe principes haberentur Aedui, secundum locum dignitatis Remi obtinerent. 13. In omni Gallia eorum hominum, qui aliquo sunt numero atque honore, genera sunt duo. Nam plebes paene servorum habetur loco, quae nihil audet per se, nullo adhibetur consilio. Plerique, cum

aut aere alieno aut magnitudine tributorum aut iniuria potentiorum premuntur, sese in servitutem dicant nobilibus. In hos eadem omnia sunt iura, quae dominis in servos. Sed de his duobus generibus alterum est druidum, alterum equitum. Illi rebus divinis intersunt, sacrificia publica ac privata procurant, religiones interpretantur: ad eos magnus adulescentium numerus disciplinae causa concurrit, magnoque hi sunt apud eos honore. Nam fere de omnibus controversiis publicis privatisque constituunt et, si quod est admissum facinus, si caedes facta, si de hereditate, si de finibus controversia est, idem decernunt, praemia poenasque constituunt; si qui aut privatus aut populus eorum decreto non stetit, sacrificiis interdicunt. Haec poena apud eos est gravissima. Quibus ita est interdictum, hi numero impiorum ac sceleratorum habentur, his omnes decedunt, aditum sermonemque defugiunt, ne quid ex contagione incommodi accipiant, neque his petentibus ius redditur neque honos ullus communicatur. His autem omnibus druidibus praeest unus, qui summam inter eos habet auctoritatem. Hoc mortuo aut si qui ex reliquis excellit dignitate, succedit, aut, si sunt plures pares, suffragio druidum, nonnumquam etiam armis de principatu contendunt. Hi certo anni tempore in finibus Carnutum, quae regio totius Galliae media habetur, considunt in loco consecrato. Huc omnes undique, qui controversias habent, conveniunt eorumque decretis iudiciisque parent. Disciplina in Britannia reperta atque inde in Galliam translata esse existimatur, et nunc, qui diligentius eam rem cognoscere volunt, plerumque illo discendi causa proficiscuntur. 14. Druides a bello abesse consuerunt neque tributa una cum reliquis pendunt, militiae vacationem omniumque rerum habent immunitatem. Tantis excitati praemiis et sua sponte multi in disciplinam conveniunt et a parentibus propinquisque mittuntur. Mag-

num ibi numerum versuum ediscere dicuntur. Itaque annos nonnulli vicenos in disciplina permanent. Neque fas esse existimant ea litteris mandare, cum in reliquis fere rebus, publicis privatisque rationibus Graecis litteris utantur. Id mihi duabus de causis instituisse videntur, quod neque in vulgum disciplinam efferri velint neque eos, qui discunt, litteris confisos minus memoriae studere; quod fere plerisque accidit, ut praesidio litterarum diligentiam in perdiscendo ac memoriam remittant. Imprimis hoc volunt persuadere, non interire animas, sed ab aliis post mortem transire ad alios, atque hoc maxime ad virtutem excitari putant metu mortis neglecto. Multa praeterea de sideribus atque eorum motu, de mundi ac terrarum magnitudine, de rerum natura, de deorum immortalium vi ac potestate disputant et iuventuti tradunt. 15. Alterum genus est equitum. Hi, cum est usus atque aliquod bellum incidit (quod fere ante Caesaris adventum quotannis accidere solebat, uti aut ipsi iniurias inferrent aut inlatas propulsarent), omnes in bello versantur atque eorum ut quisque est genere copiisque amplissimus, ita plurimos circum se ambactos clientesque habet. Hanc unam gratiam potentiamque noverunt. 16. Natio est omnis Gallorum admodum dedita religionibus atque ob eam causam qui sunt adfecti gravioribus morbis quique in proeliis periculisque versantur, aut pro victimis homines immolant aut se immolaturos vovent administrisque ad ea sacrificia druidibus utuntur, quod, pro vita hominis nisi hominis vita reddatur, non posse deorum immortalium numen placari arbitrantur, publiceque eiusdem generis habent instituta sacrificia. Alii immani magnitudine simulacra habent, quorum contexta viminibus membra vivis hominibus complent; quibus succensis circumventi flamma exanimantur homines. Supplicia eorum, qui in furto aut in latrocinio aut aliqua noxia sint compre-

hensi, gratiora dis immortalibus esse arbitrantur; sed cum eius generis copia defecit, etiam ad innocentium supplicia descendunt. 17. Deum maxime Mercurium colunt. Huius sunt plurima simulacra, hunc omnium inventorem artium ferunt, hunc viarum atque itinerum ducem, hunc ad quaestus pecuniae mercaturasque habere vim maximam arbitrantur. Post hunc Apollinem et Martem et Iovem et Minervam. De his eandem fere quam reliquae gentes habent opinionem: Apollinem morbos depellere, Minervam operum atque artificiorum initia tradere, Iovem imperium caelestium tenere, Martem bella regere. Huic, cum proelio dimicare constituerunt, ea, quae bello ceperint, plerumque devovent: cum superaverunt, animalia capta immolant reliquasque res in unum locum conferunt. Multis in civitatibus harum rerum exstructos tumulos locis consecratis conspicari licet; neque saepe accidit, ut neglecta quispiam religione aut capta apud se occultare aut posita tollere auderet, gravissimumque ei rei supplicium cum cruciatu constitutum est. 18. Galli se omnes ab Dite patre prognatos praedicant idque ab druidibus proditum dicunt. Ob eam causam spatia omnis temporis non numero dierum, sed noctium finiunt; dies natales et mensium et annorum initia sic observant, ut noctem dies subsequatur. In reliquis vitae institutis hoc fere ab reliquis differunt, quod suos liberos, nisi cum adoleverunt, ut munus militiae sustinere possint, palam ad se adire non patiuntur filiumque puerili aetate in publico in conspectu patris adsistere turpe ducunt. 19. Viri, quantas pecunias ab uxoribus dotis nomine acceperunt, tantas ex suis bonis aestimatione facta cum dotibus communicant. Huius omnis pecuniae coniunctim ratio habetur fructusque servantur: uter eorum vita superavit, ad eum pars utriusque cum fructibus superiorum temporum pervenit. Viri in uxores, sicuti in liberos vitae necisque

habent potestatem; et cum paterfamiliae inlustriore loco natus decessit, eius propinqui conveniunt et, de morte si res in suspicionem venit, de uxoribus in servilem modum quaestionem habent et, si compertum est, igni atque omnibus tormentis excruciatas interficiunt. Funera sunt pro cultu Gallorum magnifica et sumptuosa; omniaque, quae vivis cordi fuisse arbitrantur, in ignem inferunt, etiam animalia, ac paulo supra hanc memoriam servi et clientes, quos ab eis dilectos esse constabat, iustis funeribus confectis una cremabantur. 20. Quae civitates commodius suam rem publicam administrare existimantur, habent legibus sanctum, si quis quid de re publica a finitimis rumore aut fama acceperit, uti ad magistratum deferat neve cum quo alio communicet, quod saepe homines temerarios atque imperitos falsis rumoribus terreri et ad facinus impelli et de summis rebus consilium capere cognitum est. Magistratus quae visa sunt occultant, quaeque esse ex usu iudicaverunt, multitudini produnt. De re publica nisi per concilium loqui non conceditur.

21. Germani multum ab hac consuetudine differunt. Nam neque druides habent, qui rebus divinis praesint, neque sacrificiis student. Deorum numero eos solos ducunt, quos cernunt et quorum aperte opibus iuvantur, Solem et Vulcanum et Lunam, reliquos ne fama quidem acceperunt. Vita omnis in venationibus atque in studiis rei militaris consistit: ab parvulis labori ac duritiae student. Qui diutissime impuberes permanserunt, maximam inter suos ferunt laudem: hoc ali staturam, ali vires nervosque confirmari putant. Intra annum vero vicesimum feminae notitiam habuisse in turpissimis habent rebus; cuius rei nulla est occultatio, quod et promiscue in fluminibus perluuntur et pellibus aut parvis rhenonum tegimentis utuntur magna corporis parte nuda. 22. Agriculturae non student, maiorque pars eorum victus in lacte, caseo, carne consistit. Ne-

que quisquam agri modum certum aut fines habet proprios; sed magistratus ac principes in annos singulos gentibus cognationibusque hominum, qui una coierunt, quantum et quo loco visum est agri attribuunt atque anno post alio transire cogunt. Eius rei multas adferunt causas: ne adsidua consuetudine capti studium belli gerendi agricultura commutent; ne latos fines parare studeant, potentioresque humiliores possessionibus expellant; ne accuratius ad frigora atque aestus vitandos aedificent; ne qua oriatur pecuniae cupiditas, qua ex re factiones dissensionesque nascuntur; ut animi aequitate plebem contineant, cum suas quisque opes cum potentissimis aequari videat. 23. Civitatibus maxima laus est quam latissime circum se vastatis finibus solitudines habere. Hoc proprium virtutis existimant, expulsos agris finitumos cedere, neque quemquam prope audere consistere; simul hoc se fore tutiores arbitrantur repentinae incursionis timore sublato. Cum bellum civitas aut inlatum defendit aut infert, magistratus, qui ei bello praesint, ut vitae necisque habeant potestatem, deliguntur. In pace nullus est communis magistratus, sed principes regionum atque pagorum inter suos ius dicunt controversiasque minuunt. Latrocinia nullam habent infamiam, quae extra fines cuiusque civitatis fiunt, atque ea iuventutis exercendae ac desidiae minuendae causa fieri praedicant. Atque ubi quis ex principibus in concilio dixit se ducem fore, qui sequi velint, profiteantur, consurgunt ei, qui et causam et hominem probant, suumque auxilium pollicentur, atque ab multitudine conlaudantur: qui ex his secuti non sunt, in desertorum ac proditorum numero ducuntur, omniumque his rerum postea fides derogatur. Hospitem violare fas non putant; qui quacunque de causa ad eos venerunt, ab iniuria prohibent, sanctos habent, hisque omnium domus patent victusque communicatur. 24. Ac fuit antea tempus, cum

Germanos Galli virtute superarent, ultro bella inferrent, propter hominum multitudinem agrique inopiam trans Rhenum colonias mitterent. Itaque ea, quae fertilissima Germaniae sunt, loca circum Hercyniam silvam (quam Eratostheni et quibusdam Graecis fama notam esse video, quam illi Orcyniam appellant) Volcae Tectosages occupaverunt atque ibi consederunt; quae gens ad hoc tempus his sedibus sese continet summamque habet iustitiae et bellicae laudis opinionem. Nunc quod in eadem inopia, egestate patientia, qua ante, Germani permanent, eodem victu et cultu corporis utuntur; Gallis autem provinciarum propinquitas et transmarinarum rerum notitia multa ad copiam atque usus largitur: paulatim adsuefacti superari multisque victi proeliis ne se quidem ipsi cum illis virtute comparant. 25. Huius Hercyniae silvae, quae supra demonstrata est, latitudo novem dierum iter expedito patet: non enim aliter finiri potest, neque mensuras itinerum noverunt. Oritur ab Helvetiorum et Nemetum et Rauracorum finibus rectaque fluminis Danubii regione pertinet ad fines Dacorum et Anartium; hinc se flectit sinistrorsus diversis ab flumine regionibus, multarumque gentium fines propter magnitudinem adtingit; neque quisquam est huius Germaniae, qui se aut adisse ad initium eius silvae dicat, cum dierum iter LX processerit, aut quo ex loco oriatur acceperit: multaque in ea genera ferarum nasci constat, quae reliquis in locis visa non sint; ex quibus quae maxime differant ab ceteris et memoriae prodenda videantur, haec sunt. 26. Est bos cervi figura, cuius a media fronte inter aures unum cornu existit excelsius magisque directum his, quae nobis nota sunt, cornibus: ab eius summo sicut palmae ramique late diffunduntur. Eadem est feminae marisque natura, eadem forma magnitudoque cornuum. 27. Sunt item quae appellantur alces. Harum est consimilis capris figura et varietas pellium, sed magnitu-

dine paulo antecedunt mutilaeque sunt cornibus et crura sine nodis articulisque habent neque quietis causa procumbunt neque, si quo adflictae casu conciderunt, erigere sese aut sublevare possunt. His sunt arbores pro cubilibus: ad eas se adplicant atque ita paulum modo reclinatae quietem capiunt. Quarum ex vestigiis cum est animadversum a venatoribus, quo se recipere consuerint, omnes eo loco aut ab radicibus subruunt aut accidunt arbores, tantum ut summa species earum stantium relinquatur. Huc cum se consuetudine reclinaverunt, infirmas arbores pondere adfligunt atque una ipsae concidunt. 28. Tertium est genus eorum, qui uri appellantur. Hi sunt magnitudine paulo infra elephantos, specie et colore et figura tauri. Magna vis eorum est et magna velocitas, neque homini neque ferae, quam conspexerunt, parcunt. Hos studiose foveis captos interficiunt. Hoc se labore durant adulescentes atque hoc genere venationis exercent, et qui plurimos ex his interfecerunt, relatis in publicum cornibus, quae sint testimonio, magnam ferunt laudem. Sed adsuescere ad homines et mansueti fieri ne parvuli quidem excepti possunt. Amplitudo cornuum et figura et species multum a nostrorum boum cornibus differt. Haec studiose conquisita ab labris argento circumcludunt atque in amplissimis epulis pro poculis utuntur.

29. Caesar, postquam per Ubios exploratores comperit Suebos sese in silvas recepisse, inopiam frumenti veritus, quod, ut supra demonstravimus, minime omnes Germani agriculturae student, constituit non progredi longius; sed, ne omnino metum reditus sui barbaris tolleret atque ut eorum auxilia tardaret, reducto exercitu partem ultimam pontis, quae ripas Ubiorum contingebat, in longitudinem pedum CC rescindit atque in extremo ponte turrim tabulatorum quattuor constituit praesidiumque cohortium

XII pontis tuendi causa ponit magnisque eum locum munitionibus firmat. Ei loco praesidioque Gaium Volcatium Tullum adulescentem praefecit. Ipse, cum maturescere frumenta inciperent, ad bellum Ambiorigis profectus per Arduennam silvam, quae est totius Galliae maxima atque ab ripis Rheni finibusque Treverorum ad Nervios pertinet milibusque amplius quingentis in longitudinem patet, L. Minucium Basilum cum omni equitatu praemittit, si quid celeritate itineris atque opportunitate temporis proficere posset; monet ut ignes in castris fieri prohibeat, ne qua eius adventus procul significatio fiat: sese confestim subsequi dicit. 30. Basilus ut imperatum est facit. Celeriter contraque omnium opinionem confecto itinere multos in agris inopinantes deprehendit: eorum indicio ad ipsum Ambiorigem contendit, quo in loco cum paucis equitibus esse dicebatur. Multum cum in omnibus rebus tum in re militari potest fortuna. Nam sicut magno accidit casu, ut in ipsum incautum etiam atque imparatum incideret, priusque eius adventus ab omnibus videretur, quam fama ac nuntius adferretur, sic magnae fuit fortunae omni militari instrumento, quod circum se habebat, erepto redis equisque comprehensis ipsum effugere mortem. Sed hoc quoque factum est, quod aedificio circumdato silva (ut sunt fere domicilia Gallorum, qui vitandi aestus causa plerumque silvarum atque fluminum petunt propinquitates) comites familiaresque eius angusto in loco paulisper equitum nostrorum vim sustinuerunt. His pugnantibus illum in equum quidam ex suis intulit: fugientem silvae texerunt. Sic et ad subeundum periculum et ad vitandum multum fortuna valuit. 31. Ambiorix copias suas iudicione non conduxerit, quod proelio dimicandum non existimarit, an tempore exclusus et repentino equitum adventu prohibitus, cum reliquum exercitum subsequi crederet, dubium est. Sed certe dimis-

sis per agros nuntiis sibi quemque consulere iussit. Quorum pars in Arduennam silvam, pars in continentes paludes profugit; qui proximi Oceano fuerunt, hi insulis sese occultaverunt, quas aestus efficere consuerunt: multi ex suis finibus egressi se suaque omnia alienissimis crediderunt. Catuvolcus, rex dimidiae partis Eburonum, qui una cum Ambiorige consilium inierat, aetate iam confectus cum laborem belli aut fugae ferre non posset, omnibus precibus detestatus Ambiorigem, qui eius consilii auctor fuisset, taxo, cuius magna in Gallia Germaniaque copia est, se exanimavit. 32. Segni Condrusique ex gente et numero Germanorum, qui sunt inter Eburones Treverosque, legatos ad Caesarem miserunt oratum, ne se in hostium numero duceret neve omnium Germanorum, qui essent citra Rhenum, unam esse causam iudicaret: nihil se de bello cogitasse, nulla Ambiorigi auxilia misisse. Caesar explorata re quaestione captivorum, si qui ad eos Eburones ex fuga convenissent, ad se ut reducerentur imperavit: si ita fecissent, fines eorum se violaturum negavit. Tum copiis in tres partes distributis impedimenta omnium legionum Aduatucam contulit. Id castelli nomen est. Hoc fere est in mediis Eburonum finibus, ubi Titurius atque Aurunculeius hiemandi causa consederant. Hunc cum reliquis rebus locum probarat, tum quod superioris anni munitiones integrae manebant, ut militum laborem sublevaret. Praesidio impedimentis legionem quartamdecimam reliquit, unam ex his tribus, quas proxume conscriptas ex Italia traduxerat. Ei legioni castrisque Q. Tullium Ciceronem praeficit ducentosque equites adtribuit. 33. Partito exercitu T. Labienum cum legionibus tribus ad Oceanum versus in eas partes, quae Menapios adtingunt, proficisci iubet; Gaium Trebonium cum pari legionum numero ad eam regionem, quae ad Aduatucos adiacet, depopulandam mittit; ipse cum

reliquis tribus ad flumen Scaldem, quod influit in Mosam, extremasque Arduennae partes ire constituit, quo cum paucis equitibus profectum Ambiorigem audiebat. Discedens post diem septimum sese reversurum confirmat; quam ad diem ei legioni, quae in praesidio relinquebatur, deberi frumentum sciebat. Labienum Treboniumque hortatur, si rei publicae commodo facere possint, ad eum diem revertantur, ut rursus communicato consilio exploratisque hostium rationibus aliud initium belli capere possent.

34. Erat, ut supra demonstravimus, manus certa nulla, non oppidum, non praesidium, quod se armis defenderet, sed omnes in partes dispersa multitudo Ubi cuique aut valles abdita aut locus silvestris aut palus impedita spem praesidii aut salutis aliquam offerebat, consederat. Haec loca vicinitatibus erant nota, magnamque res diligentiam requirebat non in summa exercitus tuenda (nullum enim poterat universis ab perterritis ac dispersis periculum accidere), sed in singulis militibus conservandis; quae tamen ex parte res ad salutem exercitus pertinebat Nam et praedae cupiditas multos longius evocabat, et silvae incertis occultisque itineribus confertos adire prohibebant. Si negotium confici stirpemque hominum sceleratorum interfici vellent, dimittendae plures manus diducendique erant milites; si continere ad signa manipulos vellent, ut instituta ratio et consuetudo exercitus Romani postulabat, locus ipse erat praesidio barbaris, neque ex occulto insidiandi et dispersos circumveniendi singulis deerat audacia. Ut in eiusmodi difficultatibus, quantum diligentia provideri poterat, providebatur, ut potius in nocendo aliquid praetermitteretur, etsi omnium animi ad ulciscendum ardebant, quam cum aliquo militum detrimento noceretur. Dimittit ad finitimas civitates nuntios Caesar: omnes evocat spe praedae ad diripiendos Eburones, ut potius in silvis Gallorum vita quam legionarius

miles periclitetur, simul ut magna multitudine circumfusa pro tali facinore stirps ac nomen civitatis tollatur. Magnus undique numerus celeriter convenit.

35. Haec in omnibus Eburonum partibus gerebantur, diesque adpetebat septimus, quem ad diem Caesar ad impedimenta legionemque reverti constituerat. Hic quantum in bello fortuna possit et quantos adferat casus cognosci potuit. Dissipatis ac perterritis hostibus, ut demonstravimus, manus erat nulla, quae parvam modo causam timoris adferret. Trans Rhenum ad Germanos pervenit fama, diripi Eburones atque ultro omnes ad praedam evocari. Cogunt equitum duo milia Sugambri, qui sunt proxumi Rheno, a quibus receptos ex fuga Tencteros atque Usipetes supra docuimus. Transeunt Rhenum navibus ratibusque XXX milibus passuum infra eum locum, ubi pons erat perfectus praesidiumque ab Caesare relictum: primos Eburonum fines adeunt; multos ex fuga dispersos excipiunt, magno pecoris numero, cuius sunt cupidissimi barbari, potiuntur. Invitati praeda longius procedunt. Non hos palus in bello latrociniisque natos, non silvae morantur. Quibus in locis sit Caesar ex captivis quaerunt; profectum longius reperiunt omnemque exercitum discessisse cognoscunt. Atque unus ex captivis, Quid vos, inquit, hanc miseram ac tenuem sectamini praedam, quibus licet iam esse fortunatissimis? Tribus horis Aduatucam venire potestis: huc omnes suas fortunas exercitus Romanorum contulit: praesidii tantum est, ut ne murus quidem cingi possit, neque quisquam egredi extra munitiones audeat. Oblata spe Germani quam nancti erant praedam in occulto relinquunt; ipsi Aduatucam contendunt usi eodem duce, cuius haec indicio cognoverant.

36. Cicero, qui per omnes superiores dies praeceptis Caesaris cum summa diligentia milites in castris continuisset ac ne calonem quidem quemquam extra munitionem egredi

passus esset, septimo die diffidens de numero dierum Caesarem fidem servaturum, quod longius progressum audiebat neque ulla de reditu eius fama adferebatur, simul eorum permotus vocibus, qui illius patientiam paene obsessionem appellabant, siquidem ex castris egredi non liceret, nullum eiusmodi casum expectans, quo novem oppositis legionibus maximoque equitatu dispersis ac paene deletis hostibus in milibus passuum tribus offendi posset, quinque cohortes frumentatum in proximas segetes mittit, quas inter et castra unus omnino collis intererat. Complures erant ex legionibus aegri relicti; ex quibus qui hoc spatio dierum convaluerant circiter CCC sub vexillo una mittuntur; magna praeterea multitudo calonum, magna vis iumentorum, quae in castris subsederant, facta potestate sequitur. 37. Hoc ipso tempore et casu Germani equites interveniunt protinusque eodem illo, quo venerant, cursu ab decumana porta in castra inrumpere conantur, nec prius sunt visi obiectis ab ea parte silvis, quam castris adpropinquarent, usque eo ut qui sub vallo tenderent mercatores recipiendi sui facultatem non haberent. Inopinantes nostri re nova perturbantur, ac vix primum impetum cohors in statione sustinet. Circumfunduntur ex reliquis hostes partibus, si quem aditum reperire possent. Aegre portas nostri tuentur, reliquos aditus locus ipse per se munitioque defendit. Totis trepidatur castris, atque alius ex alio causam tumultus quaerit; neque quo signa ferantur neque quam in partem quisque conveniat provident. Alius castra iam capta pronuntiat, alius deleto exercitu atque imperatore victores barbaros venisse contendit; plerique novas sibi ex loco religiones fingunt Cottaeque et Titurii calamitatem, qui in eodem occiderint castello, ante oculos ponunt. Tali timore omnibus perterritis confirmatur opinio barbaris, ut ex captivo audierant, nullum esse intus praesidium. Perrumpere nitun-

tur seque ipsi adhortantur, ne tantam fortunam ex manibus dimittant. 38. Erat aeger cum praesidio relictus P. Sextius Baculus, qui primum pilum apud Caesarem duxerat, cuius mentionem superioribus proeliis fecimus, ac diem iam quintum cibo caruerat. Hic diffisus suae atque omnium saluti inermis ex tabernaculo prodit: videt imminere hostes atque in summo esse rem discrimine: capit arma a proximis atque in porta consistit. Consequuntur hunc centuriones eius cohortis, quae in statione erat: paulisper una proelium sustinent. Relinquit animus Sextium gravibus acceptis vulneribus: aegre per manus tractus servatur. Hoc spatio interposito reliqui sese confirmant tantum, ut in munitionibus consistere audeant speciemque defensorum praebeant. 39. Interim confecta frumentatione milites nostri clamorem exaudiunt: praecurrunt equites; quanto res sit in periculo cognoscunt. Hic vero nulla munitio est, quae perterritos recipiat: modo conscripti atque usus militaris imperiti ad tribunum militum centurionesque ora convertunt; quid ab his praecipiatur expectant. Nemo est tam fortis, quin rei novitate perturbetur. Barbari signa procul conspicati oppugnatione desistunt: redisse primo legiones credunt, quas longius discessisse ex captivis cognoverant; postea despecta paucitate ex omnibus partibus impetum faciunt. 40. Calones in proximum tumulum procurrunt. Hinc celeriter deiecti se in signa manipulosque coniciunt: eo magis timidos perterrent milites. Alii, cuneo facto ut celeriter perrumpant, censent, quoniam tam propinqua sint castra, et si pars aliqua circumventa ceciderit, at reliquos servari posse confidunt; alii, ut in iugo consistant atque eundem omnes ferant casum. Hoc veteres non probant milites, quos sub vexillo una profectos docuimus. Itaque inter se cohortati duce Gaio Trebonio, equite Romano, qui eis erat praepositus, per medios hostes per-

rumpunt incolumesque ad unum omnes in castra perveniunt. Hos subsecuti calones equitesque eodem impetu militum virtute servantur. At ei, qui in iugo constiterant, nullo etiam nunc usu rei militaris percepto neque in eo, quod probaverant, consilio permanere, ut se loco superiore defenderent, neque eam quam prodesse aliis vim celeritatemque viderant imitari potuerunt, sed se in castra recipere conati iniquum in locum demiserunt. Centuriones, quorum nonnulli ex inferioribus ordinibus reliquarum legionum virtutis causa in superiores erant ordines huius legionis traducti, ne ante partam rei militaris laudem amitterent, fortissime pugnantes conciderunt. Militum pars horum virtute summotis hostibus praeter spem incolumis in castra pervenit, pars a barbaris circumventa periit. 41. Germani desperata expugnatione castrorum, quod nostros iam constitisse in munitionibus videbant, cum ea praeda, quam in silvis deposuerant, trans Rhenum sese receperunt. Ac tantus fuit etiam post discessum hostium terror, ut ea nocte cum Gaius Volusenus missus cum equitatu ad castra venisset, fidem non faceret adesse cum incolumi Caesarem exercitu. Sic omnino animos timor praeoccupaverat, ut paene alienata mente deletis omnibus copiis equitatum se ex fuga recepisse dicerent neque incolumi exercitu Germanos castra oppugnaturos fuisse contenderent. Quem timorem Caesaris adventus sustulit. 42. Reversus ille eventus belli non ignorans unum, quod cohortes ex statione et praesidio essent emissae, questus—ne minimo quidem casu locum relinqui debuisse—multum fortunam in repentino hostium adventu potuisse iudicavit, multo etiam amplius, quod paene ab ipso vallo portisque castrorum barbaros avertisset. Quarum omnium rerum maxime admirandum videbatur, quod Germani, qui eo consilio Rhenum transierant, ut Ambiorigis fines depopularentur, ad castra

Romanorum delati optatissimum Ambiorigi beneficium obtulerunt.

43. Caesar rursus ad vexandos hostes profectus magno coacto numero ex finitumis civitatibus in omnes partes dimittit. Omnes vici atque omnia aedificia, quae quisque conspexerat, incendebantur; praeda ex omnibus locis agebatur; frumenta non solum tanta multitudine iumentorum atque hominum consumebantur, sed etiam anni tempore atque imbribus procubuerant, ut, si qui etiam in praesentia se occultassent, tamen his deducto exercitu rerum omnium inopia pereundum videretur. Ac saepe in eum locum ventum est tanto in omnes partes diviso equitatu, ut modo visum ab se Ambiorigem in fuga circumspicerent captivi nec plane etiam abisse ex conspectu contenderent, ut spe consequendi inlata atque infinito labore suscepto, qui se summam ab Caesare gratiam inituros putarent, paene naturam studio vincerent, semperque paulum ad summam felicitatem defuisse videretur, atque ille latebris aut saltibus se eriperet et noctu occultatus alias regiones partesque peteret non maiore equitum praesidio quam quattuor, quibus solis vitam suam committere audebat.

44. Tali modo vastatis regionibus exercitum Caesar duarum cohortium damno Durocortorum Remorum reducit, concilioque in eum locum Galliae indicto de coniuratione Senonum et Carnutum quaestionem habere instituit et de Accone, qui princeps eius consilii fuerat, graviore sententia pronuntiata more maiorum supplicium sumpsit. Nonnulli iudicium veriti profugerunt. Quibus cum aqua atque igni interdixisset, duas legiones ad fines Treverorum, duas in Lingonibus, sex reliquas in Senonum finibus Agedinci in hibernis conlocavit frumentoque exercitui proviso, ut instituerat, in Italiam ad conventus agendos profectus est.

NOTES.

BOOK VI.

CHAP. 1.

p. 1. 4 *Gneo Pompeio proconsule*] Pompey had held the consulship in 70 B.C. and again in 55. This book relates the events of the year 53.

quoniam...remaneret] this clause forms a part of Caesar's application to Pompey and contains one of the reasons for that application, hence the subjunctive *remaneret;* cf. 7. Pompey had received the two Spanish provinces in 55 B.C. for 5 years, but instead of undertaking their administration in person he had left it to subordinates and had himself remained in Italy. At this time he was nominally occupied with the management of the corn supply but was really engaged in watching the progress of political events at Rome. Being still in possession of the military *imperium* he could not actually enter the city. Hence Caesar speaks of him as remaining near the city, *ad urbem.*

6 *sacramento rogavisset*] cf. Liv. XL. 26 *ut omnes minores quinquaginta annis sacramento rogaret*, so XXXII. 26: 'to administer the oath of allegiance'; the phrase means literally 'to request (allegiance) by means of an oath', *consulis sacramentum* an oath of allegiance to the Consul.

7 *iuberet*] after *petit* which is an historical present and may therefore be followed by the imperfect subjunctive.

8 *Galliae*] subjective genitive; 'the opinion entertained by Gaul'.

10 *augeri*] Caesar is writing rather vaguely: of course *augere detrimentum* would naturally mean 'to increase a disaster', i. e. to make it a greater disaster than it was before, but Caesar means by *augeri* 'more than counterbalanced'.

11 *amicitiae*] though Caesar foresaw and was preparing for the approaching struggle between himself and Pompey he found it convenient at present to maintain as far as possible their previous friendly relations. Julia, Pompey's wife and Caesar's daughter, had died the year before, 54, and Caesar thereupon proposed a fresh

alliance between the two families which Pompey however rejected. The loan of troops here mentioned indicates that the show of friendship was still maintained between the two rivals.

12 *per suos*] 'by means of his agents', i.e. the *legati* mentioned above.

14 *Q. Titurio*] cf. V. 36, 37. A legion and a half (15 cohorts in all) had perished in this disastrous engagement; thus the present addition of three legions, of which one was lent by Pompey, while the other two were levied by Caesar's *legati*, just doubled the number of troops that had been lost, cf. Plutarch Caes. XXV, Cato Minor XLV, Pomp. LII, Cic. Fam. VIII. 4, Appian B.C. II. 29, [Caesar] B.G. VIII. 54. A comparison of these passages will show a strange discrepancy, inasmuch as it is stated in some that Pompey lent Caesar two legions, in others that he lent him one. Plutarch even contradicts himself. Nipperdey has shown to demonstration that Pompey only lent one legion; Göler controverting a similar view held by Drumann writes with great carelessness (Caesar's Gallischer Krieg p. 205, ed. 2). The new legions were numbered I, XIV, XV, of these I. was lent by Pompey, B. G. VIII. 54, and the XIVth took the place of the original XIVth destroyed at Aduatuca: the legions already in Gaul were numbered from VII. to XIII. inclusive. Thus Caesar now had altogether 10 legions.

CHAP. 2.

17 *ad...defertur*] so in II. 14 *ad hunc totius belli summam deferri*, but in V. 6 Caesar writes *sibi regnum deferri*.

18 *Treveris*] a powerful tribe of Keltic Gauls occupying the district of Trier; Augusta Treverorum (Trèves) was subsequently their chief town. The Eburones seem to have been *clientes* of the Treveri, cf. IV. 6.

20 *impetrare*] 'gain their request'; the word is used absolutely in I. 9.

p. 2. 2 *obsidibus cavent*] so VII. 2; 'interchange hostages for the payment of money'.

Ambiorigem] Ambiorix shared with Catuvolcus the sovereignty of the Eburones, cf. V. 24, infra 31.

4 *Nervios*] Bagacum (Bavay) was the chief stronghold of the Nervii. They occupied a part of Hainault and Flanders. The Aduatuci were situated in the neighbourhood of the Meuse in a part of the province of Namur. We learn from V. 27 that the Eburones had formerly paid them tribute. The Menapii dwelt for the most part between the Scheldt and the Rhine.

5 *Cisrhenanis*] the dwellers on the Gallic side of the Rhine; cf. II. 3 *Germanos qui cis Rhenum incolunt*.

Senones] their chief town was Agedincum now Sens.

ad imperatum non venire] cf. V. 54 where it is said that Caesar

had summoned the whole *senatus* of the Senones but they had refused to attend.

Carnutibus] their chief *oppidum* was Cenabum, afterwards *civitas Aurelianorum*, Orleans.

CHAP. 3.

10 *proximis*] it will be remembered that Caesar had spent the winter in Gaul in or near Samarobriva (Amiens). The four legions consisted probably of the three which Caesar had under his command together with that under the command of Fabius who was stationed among the Morini, perhaps at St Pol: cf. V. 24, 46, 53.

15 *in hiberna*] no doubt at Amiens.

16 *ut instituerat*] 'according to his practice'. In V. 2 it is said that the Treveri *neque ad concilia veniebant neque imperio parebant.*

18 *belli ac defectionis*] a slight *ὕστερον πρότερον*: *defectio* precedes *bellum.*

ut omnia postponere videretur] 'that they might see that he considered everything else of secondary moment'. Cf. V. 7 *omnibus rebus postpositis:* the word is said not to occur in Cicero.

19 *Lutetiam Parisiorum*] the ancient Lutetia was situated on the island now occupied by the cité: cf. VII. 57 *Lutetiam proficiscitur, id est oppidum Parisiorum quod positum est in insula fluminis Sequanae.* Strabo speaks of a town of the Parisii called Λευκοτοκία. Cf. Desjardins II. 474 foll.

21 *consilio*] the *consilium belli.*

22 *pro suggestu*] *suggestus* a raised platform, cf. b. Afr. 54 *de suggestu,* 86 *pro suggestu tribuit: pro* seems to mean 'from the front of'.

CHAP. 4.

26 *conantibus*] probably an abl. abs., possibly dative after *nuntiatur.*

28 *Aeduos*] the Aedui were always on terms of friendship with the Romans; they were an important tribe dwelling between the Loire and the Saône: cf. I. 33 note.

30 *quod...arbitratur*] 'because he thinks that the summer should be devoted to the impending war and not to investigation'.

32 *obsidibus...tradit*] for the form of this sentence cf. V. 4 *principibus convocatis...hos conciliavit* and III. 14 note.

33 *eodem*] no doubt to Agedincum (Sens); cf. 3 *in Senones proficiscitur.*

usi deprecatoribus Remis] cf. I. 9 *legatos ad Dumnorigem Aeduum mittunt ut eo deprecatore a Sequanis impetrarent.*

p. 3. 1 *Remis*] a Belgic tribe occupying a district corresponding roughly to the departments of Marne and Ardennes. Their chief

town was Durocortorum afterwards called Remi or Rheims. Caesar here says that the Carnutes were *clientes* of the Remi. M. Desjardins seems to have overlooked this passage in his account of the two tribes.

CHAP. 5.

3 *totus et mente et animo*] one may perhaps render this by the common English expression 'with all his heart and soul': cf. note on III. 19.

5 *Cavarinum*] Caesar had appointed Cavarinus king of the Senones; in the previous year he had been expelled from his kingdom by an insurrection, V. 54.

6 *ex huius iracundia*] 'from his resentment', which he might show by taking vengeance on the authors of the insurrection against his authority. *civitatis* is the genitive after *motus.*

7 *pro explorato habebat*] Caesar might have written *exploratum habebat:* cf. the common phrase *pro certo habere.*

9 *animo circumspiciebat*] Cic. leg. II. 42 *circumspicite celeriter animo qui sint rerum exitus consecuti.*

10 *Eburonum*] the Eburones dwelt between the Meuse and the Rhine, north of Aix la Chapelle.

16 *se in Menapios abderet*] 'should hide himself among the Menapii': *in* with the acc. is the usual construction with *abdere se.*

18 *ad Labienum in Treveros*] cf. 7 *Labienum cum una legione quae in eorum* (*Treverorum*) *finibus hiemaverat*: but in V. 24 it is said that Labienus' winter quarters were among the Remi *in confinio Treverorum.* Napoleon suggests that he may have been stationed on debateable territory claimed by both tribes. Of course the boundaries of these half-civilised tribes were never as clearly defined as are the limits of modern states.

CHAP. 6.

25 *pontibus*] raised dams or causeways across the marshes: cf. VII. 19; Tac. An. I. 63.

27 *confirmat*] 'assures them': below in *his confirmatis rebus* the word is used in a slightly different sense, 'these matters having been definitely arranged', 'set on a firm footing'.

si...recepissent] 'if they should receive', i.e. 'if (it should prove that) they had received', hence the pluperfect.

29 *Commium*] Commius had been appointed king of the Atrebates by Caesar in 55 B.C., cf. IV. 21.

CHAP. 7.

32 *magnis...copiis*] cf. V. 3 *haec civitas* (*Treverorum*) *longe plurimum totius Galliae equitatu valet magnasque habet copias peditum*, II. 24.

p. 4. 1 *iamque aberant cum...cognoscunt*] cf. Roby II. § 1733 'the coincidence in time is sometimes vividly expressed by an inversion; what would otherwise have been the temporal clause being put first as an independent sentence (often with *iam*) and what would have been the principal sentence being subjoined with *cum*, often *cum repente*, *cum interim*, etc. *cum=et tum*'. Cf. VII. 26 *iamque...apparabant cum matresfamiliae repente procurrerunt*. There is a similar sentence at the beginning of the next Chapter.

2 *duas legiones*] supra 5 *duas legiones ad eum proficisci iubet.*

10 *flumen*] perhaps the Alzette, supposing Labienus to have been encamped at Lavacherie on the Ourthe.

13 *quoniam...dicantur*] cf. the similar dependent clause *quoniam...remaneret* in 1.

16 *ut...cogebat*] 'some out of the great number of (Caesar's) Gallic horsemen being under a natural compulsion to sympathise with the Gallic fortunes'.

18 *ordinibus*] *ordo* here as elsewhere is used for *centurio*.

21 *fert consuetudo*] cf. IV. 32 *quam consuetudo ferret*, note.

22 *fugae similem*] *fugae* is probably genitive; see note on V. 53 but cf. infra 27 *consimilis capris;* V. 12.

23 *in tanta propinquitate castrorum*] 'owing to the two camps being so near to each other'.

CHAP. 8.

24 *vix agmen...processerat cum Galli...non dubitant*] for the form of this sentence see the quotation from Roby's grammar in the note on the last chapter.

26 *longum esse*] 'it would be a wearisome task'. It should be remembered that 'it would take long' is always *longum est* not *longum esset.*

28 *dignitatem*] 'sense of honour'.

31 *citra flumen*] i.e. to his own side of the river.

p. 5. 3 *nobis ducibus*] not for the singular *me duce* (or *mihi duci*); Labienus associates the other officers with himself.

9 *infestis signis*] 'in hostile array'; the phrase is very common, sometimes *pila* is put in place of *signa* as in B.C. III. 93 *infestis pilis procucurrissent* followed shortly after by *infestis signis.*

10 *impetum modo*] 'the bare onset'; cf. VII. 76 *aspectum modo* 'the bare aspect'.

13 *recepit*] 'received into allegiance'.

18 *demonstravimus*] see V. 3 *Cingetorix...ad eum venit, se suosque omnes in officio futuros neque ab amicitia populi Romani defecturos confirmavit.*

principatus atque imperium est traditum] the participle is made to agree with the last noun: contrast with this the opening sentence of Cicero de Legibus—*lucus quidem ille et haec Arpinatium quercus agnoscitur saepe a me lectus in Mario.*

CHAP. 9.

22 *miserant*] the subject is *Germani*, to be gathered from the context. Kraner points out that with the indicative *miserant* which makes the clause an independent one *eum* would be more natural than *se*. The reflexive pronoun is not unfrequently found in prepositional formulae, such as *propter se*, *per se*, *pro se* etc. where *se* denotes the logical, not the grammatical, subject of the sentence; cf. Draeger Hist. Synt. I. § 28 h.

24 *locum*] it is generally supposed that Caesar crossed the Rhine in 56 at Bonn; see note on IV. 18. Göler (ed. 2) who placed the first crossing at Urmitz between Neuwied and Coblenz places the second a short distance below Coblenz near the villages of Kesselheim and Vallendar, where the bridging would be facilitated by the two islands Nieder-Werth and Gras-Werth.

25 *nota atque instituta ratione*] this is probably a modal abl. going with *efficitur*; 'the work is accomplished after the known and established method': it would be possible however to regard the abl. as absolute, in which case tr. 'the method (of bridging) being well known and established'.

29 *Ubii*] the Ubii occupied a large district on the right bank of the Rhine, extending, roughly speaking, from Muhlheim to Wiesbaden. Their submission to Caesar is mentioned in IV. 16.

30 *purgandi sui*] cf. note on III. 4 *sui recipiendi.*

p. 6. 1. *vellet*] Caesar writes the past tense *vellet* in the dependent clause, as if he were going to write the perfect *polliciti sunt* in the principal clause.

2 *cognita Caesar causa*] the nom. Caesar is inserted in the middle of the abl. abs. as in II. 11, V. 49, VII. 1, 6.

CHAP. 10.

6 *eis nationibus*] such as the Usipetes and Tencteri. The Ubii themselves were once tributaries (*vectigales*) of the Suebi but were freed from their thraldom by Caesar in 55 B. C.

denuntiare] 'were issuing mandates'; *denuntiare* is used of solemn or threatening announcements or commands.

10 *barbaros atque imperitos homines*] in IV. 3 Caesar speaks of the Ubii as being more refined than the other German tribes owing to their proximity to the Gauls and to the humanising traffic of the Rhine.

19 *Bacenis*] the exact limits of this forest cannot now be discovered: see Göler (ed. 2) p. 36, 37. The present Thuringerwald would seem to have formed the beginning of the Silva Bacenis. The greater part of Germany was at this time covered with forests and swamps; cf. Tac. Germ. 5 *terra etsi aliquanto specie differt in universum tamen aut silvis horrida aut paludibus foeda.*

pro nativo muro] 'as a natural wall': cf. *pro ariete* IV. 17, 'as a support'.

20 *Cheruscos*] the Cherusci classed by Strabo among the *ἐνδεέστερα ἔθνη* Γερμανικά seem to have been situated in the neighbourhood of Leipzig, between the Elbe and Weser.

Cheruscos...prohibere] the two constructions *prohibere aliquem ab aliquo* 'to keep one person off another', and *prohibere aliquem aliqua re* 'to keep a person from a course of action', are here united. 'To keep the Cherusci off the Suebi and the Suebi off the Cherusci, from making marauding incursions'.

21 *initium silvae*] probably the Thuringerwald, forming the western boundary of the Silva Bacenis.

CHAP. 11.

25 *proponere*] there is a slight zeugma here; some such phrase as *perpauca scribere* would be more suitable to *de Galliae Germaniaeque moribus* than *proponere.*

26 *partibusque*] if this word be genuine, of which there is some doubt, it must be vaguely used in the sense of 'districts'.

27 *singulis domibus*] Caesar probably means that it sometimes occurred that some members of a household attached themselves to one party, *factio*, in the community, while the others belonged to another; thus the house would be divided against itself. These *factiones* were the necessary result of the undue predominance of the Gallic nobles who formed large bodies of adherents by compelling 'the common freemen who were oppressed by the load of debt to borrow from them and to surrender their freedom first *de facto* as debtors, then *de iure* as bondmen', Mommsen IV. 223. It was naturally the interest of these nobles to protect their *clientes* from oppression as they formed the main support of their own power.

29 *eorum*] 'of the Gauls': so in l. 1 *eorum una pars*, where by *eorum* is meant the inhabitants of Gaul though they had not been distinctly mentioned in the immediate context: of course *eorum* here is not the antecedent to *quorum.*

quorum...redeat] not *redit* because Caesar is giving the reason of their *auctoritas:* 'who are held by their fellow-countrymen to have the chief authority, inasmuch as to their decision and judgement falls the supreme direction of all action and counsel'.

31 *redeat*] Kraner qu. B. C. 1. 4 *se alterum fore Sullam ad quem summa imperii redeat*, III. 18 *eo mortuo ad neminem unum summa imperii redit.*

itaque] 'and this practice seems to have originated with the object of preventing any one of the *plebs* from lacking aid against the more powerful'; *ita* should be taken with *institutum* (Doberenz). It is not easy to follow Caesar's reasoning here.

33 *opprimi et circumveniri*] 'overwhelmed and oppressed'. The two words are similarly united in Cic. Verr. II. 4. 17 *quid te a...Siciliae civitatibus circumveniri atque opprimi dicis?*

p. 7. 1. *si faciat...habet*] a slight irregularity of syntax for *si faciat... habeat:* according to Draeger Hist. Synt. II. p. 690 this is the only instance in Caesar; he quotes a few examples from Cicero.

2 *totius Galliae*] genitive after *ratio* not after *summa*.

CHAP. 12.

5 *Sequani*] sometimes the Sequani and sometimes the Arverni are spoken of as the leading power in Gaul opposed to the Aedui; cf. I. 31 *locutus est pro his Divitiacus Aeduus; Galliae totius factiones esse duas; harum alterius principatum tenere Aeduos alterius Arvernos:* in the following sentence the Sequani are classed with the Arverni whose *clientes* they were, while still a few sentences further on we find the Sequani mentioned alone as receiving the submission of the Aedui, and afterwards *peius victoribus Sequanis quam Aeduis victis accidisse*.

8 *iacturis*] 'sacrifices', 'concessions'.

10 *nobilitate*] so Divitiacus says, I. 31, *omnem nobilitatem, omnem senatum, omnem equitatum amisisse*.

16 *Divitiacus*] the *a* in the Gallic suffix *-acus* is always long, so Valetiacus (VII. 32), Dumnacus (VIII. 26), Caratacus, Calgacus (Tacitus). Cuno, Vorgeschichte Roms I. 338.

Romam ad senatum profectus] cf. I. 31 *se ex civitate profugisse et Romam ad senatum venisse auxilium postulatum*.

22 *dignitateque*] it is worth remarking that *que* is not very often thus placed after a short *e*.

24 *Remi*] the Remi alone stood aloof from the Belgic coalition against Caesar in 57 B.C., cf. II. 3.

quos...intellegebatur] 'and because it was understood that they were on an equality with the Aedui in favour with Caesar'. *Aeduos* must be understood after *adaequare:* in B. C. II. 16 *nostros* should probably be read, not *nostris*.

CHAP. 13.

31 *numero*] 'account': cf. Cicero's expression Phil. III. 16 *Bambalio quidam homo nullo numero:* so in Greek ἀριθμός, as in the oracle relating to the Megarians, ὑμεῖς δ' ὦ Μεγαρεῖς οὔτε τρίτοι οὔτε τέταρτοι | οὔτε δυωδέκατοι οὔτ' ἐν λόγῳ οὔτ' ἐν ἀριθμῷ.

p. 8. 1 *aere alieno*] Sir H. Maine, commenting on the fact that in ancient history we always find the lower orders deeply indebted to the aristocratic orders, remarks that the cause is to be found chiefly in the different relative importance of Land and Capital

in those days and the present. Land was then plentiful while capital or stock was with difficulty obtained and was lodged chiefly in the hands of the nobles who lived by war. The possession of instruments of tillage was of paramount importance to all classes and to obtain these as well as other necessaries the commonalty were obliged to borrow from the nobles at usurious interest, and this resulted in the degradation and ultimate servitude of the borrowers. Early History of Institutions p. 167 foll.

4 *sed*] resumptive, referring back to *genera sunt duo*.

druidum] the word *Druides* is generally supposed to be connected with δρῦς oak, Old Irish *daur* oak, *drui*, n. pl. *druid*, the priest of the oak-groves. Curtius Gr. Etym. p. 239 (ed. 5). This derivation is however disputed by M. d'Arbois de Jubainville; cf. Desjardins II. 514 note.

According to Strabo IV. 4. 4, there were three religious orders in Gaul: παρὰ πᾶσι δ' ὡς ἐπίπαν τρία φῦλα τῶν τιμωμένων διαφερόντως ἐστί, βάρδοι τε καὶ οὐάτεις καὶ δρυίδαι· βάρδοι μὲν ὑμνηταὶ καὶ ποιηταί, οὐάτεις δὲ ἱεροποιοὶ καὶ φυσιολόγοι, δρυίδαι δὲ πρὸς τῇ φυσιολογίᾳ καὶ τὴν ἠθικὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἀσκοῦσι. M. d'Arbois de Jubainville shows from the most ancient Irish Chronicles relating to the beginnings of the Christian era that these three religious orders were represented in Ireland by the *drui*, the *file*, the representative of the *vates* and the *bard* or *barth*. Caesar does not clearly distinguish the three orders mentioned by Strabo.

6 *procurant*] 'look after', 'manage'; hence the *procurator* (well-known in its abbreviated form of 'proctor') one who looks after another's affairs. It need hardly be said that *procurare* never means to 'procure'.

8 *hi*] the Druides, *eos* the Gauls.

de omnibus controversiis] cf. Strabo l. c. δικαιότατοι δὲ νομίζονται (δρυίδαι) καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πιστεύονται τάς τε ἰδιωτικὰς κρίσεις καὶ τὰς κοινάς, ὥστε καὶ πολέμους διῄτων πρότερον καὶ παρατάττεσθαι μέλλοντας ἔπαυον, τὰς δε φονικὰς δίκας μάλιστα τούτοις ἐπετέτραπτο δικάζειν. 'The Gauls', says Mommsen, 'were not much removed from an ecclesiastical state with its popes and councils, its immunities, interdicts, and spiritual courts; only this ecclesiastical state did not like that of recent times stand aloof from the nation, but was on the contrary preeminently national'.

14 *numero*] *numero* 'in the light of' may be used with or without *in*, cf. infra 23 *in desertorum numero dicuntur*.

15 *decedunt*] 'move out of their way': cf. the terms of the excommunication pronounced by Oedipus on the murderer of Laius, Oed. Tyr. 236,

τὸν ἄνδρ' ἀπαυδῶ τοῦτον ὅστις ἐστι...
μήτ' εἰσδέχεσθαι μήτε προσφωνεῖν τινὰ
μήτ' ἐν θεῶν εὐχαῖσι μήτε θύμασιν
κοινὸν ποιεῖσθαι, μήτε χέρνιβας νέμειν·
ὠθεῖν δ' ἀπ' οἴκων πάντας, ὡς μιάσματος
τοῦδ' ἡμὶν ὄντος.

19 *praeest unus*] so the old Irish *file* were under the authority of a single head, called *ollam* or *ollama*.

22 *armis*] Desjardins compares the strange custom by which the office of priest of Diana Nemorensis, whose shrine was near Aricia on the banks of the *lacus Nemorensis*, fell to the man who succeeded in killing the existing holder; the priest was consequently always armed, ἀεὶ περισκοπῶν τὰς ἐπιθέσεις, ἕτοιμος ἀμύνεσθαι. Strabo V. 3. 12.

24 *in loco consecrato*] said to be Durocasses (Dreux).

CHAP. 14.

29 *a bello abesse*] *abesse* is always used with *ab* in Caesar (Kraner). *toto abessent bello* in VII. 63 is probably no exception to this rule, see note.

p. 9. 1 *ediscere*] it need scarcely be said that before the introduction of writing and while that art was in its infancy the custom of learning by heart was practised to an extent almost inconceivable to the moderns who have little need or leisure to cultivate their powers of memory. With this passage cf. the geographer Mela, quoted by Desjardins, *docent multa nobilissimos gentis clam et diu, vicenis annis, aut in specu aut in abditis saltibus*.

4 *Graecis litteris utantur*] it is not clear whether this means that they used the Greek language or simply the Greek characters: the balance of probability favours the latter; cf. I. 29, V. 48, where the same expression and the same difficulty occurs.

id] not the use of Greek letters, but the avoidance of committing their doctrines to writing.

7 *quod...remittant*] 'which is the result in most cases, that persons relying on the aid of writing lose their perseverance in learning by heart as well as their retentiveness of memory': for *remittere* cf. note on V. 49; cf. Plato, Phaedrus 275 A.

10 *non interire animas*] so Strabo says of them ἀφθάρτους δὲ λέγουσι καὶ οὗτοι καὶ ἄλλοι τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ τὸν κόσμον, ἐπικρατήσειν δέ ποτε καὶ πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ. This last statement reminds one of the well-known theory of ἐκπύρωσις held by the Stoics who also contemplated the possibility of the destruction of the world by water, cf. Zeller Stoics p. 160 note 1. It would be interesting to know whence the Druids derived their doctrine of the transmigration of souls; Pythagoras is said to have introduced his tenet from Egypt.

13 *mundi*] 'the universe', in Greek κόσμος; *terrarum* the world.

14 *rerum natura*] 'nature'. The title of Lucretius' great poem is *de rerum natura* 'about nature'.

CHAP. 15.

16 *cum*] 'whenever', used with the indicative; cf. IV. 33, V. 21, and infra 16, 17, 18, 19, 27: not elsewhere in Caesar; frequent in Cicero;

4 instances in Livy, 5 in Tacitus, never in Sallust, Velleius, Nepos or Florus: frequent in the poets. Draeger Hist. Synt. II. 528.

18 *propulsarent*] 'ward off', 'repel', almost equivalent to *defendere*, cf. Cic. off. III. 74 *is qui non defendit iniuriam neque propulsat* and immediately after *repellit iniuriam*, cf. infra 23 *bellum civitas aut illatum defendit aut infert*.

20 *ambactos*] 'retainers': the word is of doubtful derivation, see Mommsen IV. 223 note, who remarks 'according to all analogy the right to keep *ambacti*, that is, δοῦλοι μισθωτοί, cannot have belonged to the Celtic nobility from the outset, but must only have developed itself gradually in antagonism to the older monarchy and to the equality of the free commons'. Orgetorix could summon on an emergency 10,000 followers, in addition, as it would seem, to *omnes clientes obaeratosque suos, quorum magnum numerum habebat* I. 4.

21 *hanc...noverunt*] 'this is the only form of influence or power that they recognise'. Kraner refers to Tac. Germ. 13.

CHAP. 16.

25 *homines immolant*] the human sacrifices were in honour of the gods Teutates and Esus apparently equivalent to Mercury and Mars: cf. Lucan Phars. I. 444 *quibus immitis placatur sanguine diro | Teutates horrensque feris altaribus Esus*.

30 *simulacra*] so Strabo IV. 4. 5 κατασκευάσαντες κολοσσὸν χόρτου καὶ ξύλων, ἐμβαλόντες εἰς τοῦτον βοσκήματα καὶ θηρία παντοῖα καὶ ἀνθρώπους, ὡλοκαύτουν. The practice had apparently ceased in the time of Gaius Caesar in whose reign the geographer Pomponius Mela wrote; but it lingered in Britain, cf. Pliny XXX. 4. 1, who says *hominem occidere religiosissimum erat mandi vero etiam saluberrimum*. See Desjardins II. 523 foll.

31 *quibus*] the antecedent is *simulacra* not the nearer *hominibus*.

32 *supplicia*] Diodorus Sic. V. 32 says they kept malefactors for 5 years and then impaled them as an offering to the gods, ἀποσκολοπίζουσι τοῖς θεοῖς.

33 *noxia*] 'offence', the usual meaning of *noxia*, whereas *noxa* is rather the punishment for the offence. See the remark of Serv. Sulpicius Rufus quoted in Lewis and Short's Lexicon s. v. *noxia* and Weissenborn on Livy II. 54.

p. 10. 3 *descendunt*] 'have recourse to'.

CHAP. 17.

3 *Mercurium*] supposed by some to be the Gallic Teutates.

7 *Apollinem*] probably Belen, as 23 votive monuments to Belenus have been found at Aquilée, on some of which the God is styled Belenus Apollo.

Martem] the Gallic divinity Esus is usually identified with Mars.

His name is found on a monument discovered in 1711 beneath the High Altar in Notre Dame. The figure is half-naked, armed with a hatchet and surrounded by forests. On the other side of the same monument is a figure with the form of a bull, surrounded by foliage, and bearing three cranes on its head and back. Beneath this are the words TARVOS TRIGARANVS. Desjardins II. 507.

Iovem] perhaps Taran the God of thunder, *taran* being Cornish, and *tarrum* Gaelic, for thunder: cf. Luc. Phars. I. 446 *Taranis Scythicae non mitior ara Dianae.* Desj. l. c.

8 *Minervam*] M. Desjardins fails to discover any Gallic divinity corresponding to Minerva.

12 *ceperint*] 'conj. perf. for conj. fut. exact. since *devovent* connotes a future signification (=*se immolaturos vovent*)' Kraner: 'they promise to offer what they shall have taken in war'.

CHAP. 18.

19 *Dite*] it is not known what Gallic divinity Caesar here identifies with the Roman Dis.

20 *ob eam causam*] Dis or Pluto is the God of the nether regions, hence the God of darkness; and it is their worship of the god of darkness that in Caesar's opinion causes them to reckon time by nights instead of days. There are traces of the same method of reckoning in English, as in the words 'se'nnight', 'fortnight'. So Tacitus Germ. 11 says of the Germans *nec dierum numerum ut nos sed noctium computant. Sic constituunt, sic condicunt. nox ducere diem videtur.*

21 *spatia omnis temporis*] cf. the expression *magnam partem omnis temporis* in V. 7.

22 *finiunt*] 'define', so 25 *non enim aliter finiri potest.*

CHAP 19.

28 *dotis nomine*] 'in the way of dowry'. I imagine that the dowry would not always consist solely of money, but partly of goods and chattels of the value of which a rough estimate would be made, and the husband would then contribute an equivalent in money or goods or both from his own possessions.

30 *coniunctim*] Cicero prefers the adverb *coniuncte.*

31 *fructus*] the interest or profits accruing from the capital.

uter] 'whichever of the two', i.e. husband or wife, so *eum* means the survivor, whether husband or wife, the masc. gender being, according to the ordinary rule, preferred to the feminine.

32 *utriusque*] of the deceased, whether husband or wife.

33 *vitae necisque potestatem*] the same was the case originally at Rome, but there the husband had absolute power over the wife not as husband but as father. By marrying, the wife came under the *patria potestas* of her husband and was regarded as a child of the family. In most primitive societies the *pater familias* had this unlimited power over every member of his household.

p. 11. 3 *de uxoribus*] it is implied that the Gauls practised polygamy: Tacitus says of the Germans *prope soli barbarorum singulis uxoribus contenti sunt.*

in servilem modum] 'after the manner of dealing with slaves'. With the form of expression cf. *humanam vicem* in Horace's lines (Epod. V. 87) *venena magnum fas nefasque non valent | convertere humanam vicem* where the meaning seems to be 'poisons cannot destroy the great principles of right and wrong as they can men'.

5 *pro cultu Gallorum*] 'considering the state of Gallic civilisation'.

7 *cordi fuisse*] *cordi* is probably an old locative and not a true predicative dative, a usage which is almost confined to abstract nouns: cf. Roby II. preface.

8 *supra hanc memoriam*] 'before our time'

9 *iustis*] 'complete'.

CHAP. 20.

10 *rem publicam*] 'public affairs'.

11 *habent sanctum*] the use of *habeo* with the passive participle denotes the abiding result of the action of the verb: 'they have (it) enacted': contrast *equitatum coegerat* 'he had collected the cavalry' with *equitatum coactum habebat* 'he had the cavalry collected'. This form is of course the origin of the modern French perfect; e.g. *j'ai fait = habeo factum.*

12 *rumore aut fama*] cf. VII. 8 *fama ac nuntii* (*nuntiis?*); infra 30 *fama ac nuntius.*

14 *temerarios*] cf. VII. 42 *temeritas quae maxime illi hominum generi est innata ut levem auditionem habeant pro re comperta.* Caesar often alludes to the rash and impulsive character of the Gauls.

18 *per concilium*] 'on the occasion of a council'.

CHAP. 21.

20 *neque druides...student*] the Germans had priests, as we know from Tacitus, though no Druids; and they did sacrifice to their gods, though Caesar may be right in saying that they did not pay much heed (*student*) to such things. The Gothic name for priest was *gudja*. On the subject of the German sacrifices and priesthood cf. Grimm Deutsche Mythologie I. c. 3 and 5 (4th ed. E. H. Meyer): this work has been translated into English by J. S. Stallybrass.

22 *cernunt*] Caesar's statement must be accepted with reserve. The German worship was by no means of an elemental character.

Solem...acceperunt] cf. Tac. Germ. 9. Tacitus and Caesar are here at direct issue and credence must be given by preference to Tacitus. In 17 Caesar says of the Gauls *deum maxime Mercurium colunt.* Tacitus uses the very same words of the Germans, nor, as Orelli points out, can his employment of Caesar's actual words be attributed to chance; it rather marks an intentional contradiction. Mercurius must be identified with

Wodan, *Wodan sane, quem adiecta littera Gwodan dixerunt, ipse est, qui apud Romanos Mercurius dicitur, et ab universis gentibus ut deus adoratur.* Paulus Diac. qu. by Orelli. Schweizer-Sidler suggests that the similarity of the two names Teutates and Vodamus may have facilitated the identification of Wodan and Mercury. Mars (another German divinity acc. to Tacitus) is identified with Tyr or Ziu and among some German tribes with Er. Ziu is probably Dyâus the Greek Ζεύς, and therefore Caesar may be thinking of this God when he says that they worshipped the Sun. Tacitus also says that they worshipped Hercules, and that some of the Suebi even acknowledged the divinity of Isis.

24 *studiis rei militaris*] 'military pursuits'.

25 *ab parvulis*] 'from childhood', cf. the Greek ἐκ παίδων. In IV. 1 Caesar writes *a pueris*.

26 *impuberes*] 'chaste': *impuber* here = *feminae notitia carens*. Tacitus Germ. 20 agrees herewith, *sera iuvenum venus eoque inexhausta pubertas*.

31 *rhenonum tegumentis*] 'coverings of reindeer skins': cf. Sall. Hist. Fragm. *Germani intectum rhenonibus corpus tegunt* (*habent?*). Cf. B. G. IV. 1, Tac. Germ. 17.

CHAP. 22.

32 *agriculturae non student*] so Tacitus says, (Germ. 13) *delegata domus et penatium et agrorum cura feminis senibusque et infirmissimo cuique ex familia.*

33 *victus*] Tac. Germ. 23 *cibi simplices, agrestia poma, recens fera aut lac concretum: sine apparatu sine blandimentis expellunt famem.* A favourite article of food was *puls ex avena facta*. Cf. B. G. IV. 1 *neque multum frumento sed maximam partem lacte atque pecore vivunt, multumque sunt in venationibus.*

p. 12. 2 *gentibus cognationibusque*] *cognatio* is 'blood-relationship', i. e. relationship existing between persons descended from a common pair of ancestors. It is now generally allowed that the family, a small group of persons bound together by the ties of consanguinity, formed the unit and starting-point of ancient communities. 'The elementary group is the Family, connected by common subjection to the highest male ascendant. The aggregation of Families forms the Gens or House. The aggregation of Houses makes the Tribe. The aggregation of Tribes constitutes the commonwealth.' Sir H. Maine, Ancient Law, c. 5 (Primitive Society and Ancient-Law), p. 128. These Teutonic *gentes* then were groups of families regarding themselves as sprung from common ancestors and owning allegiance to the highest living male ascendant. The same author shows how persons of alien descent were constantly being incorporated into these groups by the process of Legal Fictions; Anc. Law, p. 129 foll.; Early History of Institutions, Sect. 3 (kinship as the basis of society).

3 *quantum*] to be taken with *agri*.

4 *anno post*] 'the year after compel them to move elsewhere'. Cf. Tac.

Germ. 26 *arva* (arable land) *per annos mutant et superest ager.* So Caesar says of the Suebi IV. 1, *privati ac separati agri apud eos nihil est neque longius anno remanere uno in loco incolendi causa licet.* Cf. what Horace says of the Getae Od. III. 24. 14 *nec cultura placet longior annua.*

11 *ut animi*] 'that they may keep the people in check by contentment of mind'. Kraner aptly compares Corn. Nepos, Thras. IV. 2 *nolo amplius quam centum iugera quae meam animi aequitatem...significent.*

cum quisque videat] 'each one seeing'.

12 *cum potentissimis*]=*cum potentissimorum opibus.* This shortened form of comparison is common both in Latin and Greek. A good example is afforded by Iuv. III. 73 *sermo promptus et Isaeo torrentior*=*Isaei sermone* 'than that of Isaeus': Hom. Il. XVII. 51 κόμαι χαρίτεσσιν ὁμοῖαι 'locks like to those of the Charites'.

CHAP. 23.

12 *civitatibus...haberes*] so in IV. 3 speaking of the Suebi Caesar says *publice maximam putant esse laudem quam latissime a suis finibus vacare agros: hac re significari magnum numerum civitatum suam vim sustinere non posse, itaque una ex parte a Suebis circiter milia passum DC agri vacare dicuntur.* These figures must however be received with caution.

14 *hoc proprium*] 'they think this a distinguishing mark of valour, that their neighbours shall be expelled from their domains and retire before them, and that no one should venture to settle near them'.

18 *aut inlatum defendit aut infert*] cf. 15 *iniurias inferrent aut inlatas propulsarent.*

19 *ut habeant*] 'to the extent of having'. Yet Tacitus says, Germ. 7, *ceterum neque animadvertere neque vincire ne verberare quidem nisi sacerdotibus permissum.* Caesar may be confusing the *magistratus* with the *sacerdotes.*

21 *regionum*] *regiones* 'districts', a word of quite indefinite meaning. It is supposed by some that the German *pagus* ('canton') consisted of 1000 households. Schweizer-Sidler on Tac. Germ. 6: cf. Germ. 12 *eliguntur in iisdem conciliis et principes qui iura per pagos vicosque reddunt.* With regard to the *vicus* Sir H. Maine says "The township was an organised, self-acting group of Teutonic families, exercising a common proprietorship over a definite tract of land, its Mark, cultivating its domain on a common system, and sustaining itself by the produce. It is described by Tacitus in the 'Germany' as the *vicus;* it is well known to have been the proprietary and even the political unit of the earliest English society; it is allowed to have existed among the Scandinavian races, and it survived to so late a date in the Orkney and Shetland Islands as to have attracted the personal notice of Walter Scott". Village Communities, lect. I. p. 10.

controversias minuunt] cf. V. 26 *quibus rebus controversias minui posse sperarent.*

22 *habent*] 'involve', 'bring with them'.

26 *qui sequi velint profiteantur*] 'and that those who wish to follow him should say so'.

28 *ex his*] of those who have promised their aid.

31 *ab iniuria prohibent*] the abl. without *ab* is often used with *prohibere.*

CHAP. 24.

p. 13. 1 *Galli*] Tac. Germ. 28 *validiores olim Gallorum res fuisse summus auctor divus Iulius tradit; eoque credibile est etiam Gallos in Germaniam transgressos.*

4 *Hercyniam silvam*] the exact limits of this forest can hardly be determined. Göler (Ed. 2, pp. 36, 37) says, 'it consisted undoubtedly of the Thuringerwald, the Franconian ranges, the Fichtelgebirge, Erzgebirge, Riesengebirge, the Sudeten Mountains and the Great Carpathians'. See below, 25.

Eratostheni] 'born at Cyrene 272 B.C., died 192 B.C. at Alexandria, distinguished in many branches of knowledge, especially astronomy, mathematics and geography' (Kraner). 'The founder of scientific chronology' (Jebb).

5 *quibusdam Graecis*] Schneider suggests that one of these Greek authors may be Timotheus who is associated with Eratosthenes in a passage of Strabo, p. 249.

Orcyniam] Schneider qu. μυχὸν 'Ορκυναῖον from the Anthologia Palatina and from Ptolemaeus. But the form 'Ερκύνιος is found in Strabo, Diodorus, Dionysius Halicarnassus, Dionysius Periegetes, Stephanus, Eustathius, and possibly in Aristotle who also has 'Αρκύνια ὄρη.

6 *Volcae Tectosages*] this tribe migrated from the *Provincia Narbonensis* and occupied the present Bohemia. Narbo, Tolosa and Carcaso were among their towns. Strange stories are told of their wealth and of the numerous lakes, now dried up, in which they hid their treasures: cf. Strabo, pp. 187-189. The *aurum Tolosatum* is mentioned by Cicero, N. D. III. 30.

9 *nunc quod...comparant*] on the reading of this passage see appendix. The general sense seems to be:—'At the present day, since the Germans live the same hard life as they used to live, while the Gauls have been enervated by the luxury of the neighbouring provinces, they (the Gauls) have learnt by the experience of several battles to consider themselves no longer a match for the Germans'. Thus the protasis of the sentence ends at *largitur*, and the apodosis begins at *paulatim.*

inopia, egestate] 'poverty, want'.

11 *provinciarum*] the two Gallic provinces, *transalpina* and *cisalpina.* I prefer this, the view of Kraner, to that of Schneider who supposes Caesar to mean the provinces of Narbonensis, Spain, Sicily and Sardinia.

CHAP. 25.

15 *novem dierum iter*] one may consider this to represent roughly a distance of from 200 to 250 miles.

latitudo] Caesar reckons its breadth from north to south. We may assume, without any attempt to speak precisely, that it extended from the lake of Constance northwards to Marburg and the source of the Weser. This would fairly represent the distance indicated by Caesar when he says that it started from the boundaries of the Nemetes, Raurici and Helvetii. The Nemetes dwelt on the left bank of the Rhine in the neighbourhood of Spires. The *colonia Rauricorum* was at or near Augst on the left bank of the Rhine east of Basle. The Helvetii occupied most of the modern Switzerland.

18 *recta Danubii regione*] 'following the line of the Danube'.

19 *Dacorum et Anartium*] Daci, the inhabitants of Dacia, a large district north of the Danube corresponding roughly to Roumania and a part of Austria. One of their kings named Cotiso was an ally of Antony in 31 B.C., cf. Hor. Od. III. 8. 18 *occidit Daci Cotisonis agmen*. Dacia was constituted a Roman province by Trajan about 107 A.D. The Anartes seem to have occupied a part of N. Hungary between the Danube and the Theiss.

20 *sinistrorsus*] 'leftwards', i.e. north-eastwards toward the Carpathians.

23 *initium*] its eastward limit. From the bend of the Rhine at Basle to the junction of the Theiss and the Danube is a little over 600 miles.

25 *quae non sint*] 'such as are not': *quae non sunt* would mean 'which as a fact are not': compare the following *quae differant*.

CHAP. 26.

27 *est bos cervi figura*] the reindeer, *rangifer tarandus*. With respect to Caesar's use of the word *bos* I quote the following from a paper on the Zoology of Ancient Europe read by Prof. Newton before the Cambridge Philosophical Society in 1862: "Caesar begins his notice of this animal in the words *est bos cervi figura*, and it is remarkable that in Sweden and Norway, where it yet flourishes, the terms bull, cow, and ox, are at the present day always applied to the Rein-Deer, instead of hart or hind, buck or doe. So also in the fur countries of North America, where a form perhaps not to be distinguished from the European species occurs, the same peculiarity obtains, since it is known as the Carriboo or Carré-bœuf, a corruption of Cerf-bœuf or 'stag-ox'." When the Romans made their first acquaintance with elephants in Lucania they called them *Lucae boves*. For the substance of most of the notes on this and the two following chapters, I am indebted to Prof. Newton. In prehistoric times the reindeer was found over a great part of Europe, and in the south of France was so abundant that the age in which it flourished is known among palæontologists as the Reindeer Period. See Christy and Lartet's Reliquiae Aquitanicae, Essay II. pp.

25, 26, in which work are numerous plates representing weapons or implements made of its antlers, these often bearing incised figures of this and other contemporary animals. In historic times there is no evidence, other than Caesar's, of its existence in Europe south of the Baltic, except a passage of doubtful meaning in the Orkneyinga Saga which may signify its occurrence in the 12th century in Caithness. See Alston's Fauna of Scotland, Mammalia, p. 36.

28 *unum cornu*] Prof. Boyd Dawkins ('The former range of the Reindeer in Europe', Popular Science Review, VII. pp. 40, 41) says: 'This description has been considered by many as of no value at all and as a pure invention of Caesar's brain. It seems to me, however, a very natural explanation of the difficulties of the passage, if we suppose that Caesar described the animal partly from hearsay and partly from a rude sketch in profile. In the latter case, unless the drawing were in correct perspective the animal would appear to be possessed of one horn only, and therefore he might legitimately describe it in times when a belief in all kinds of monsters was current, as possessed of one horn'. Prof. Newton suggests that Caesar had seen a reindeer's horns of a not unusual type, having the brow antler on one side extending straight down the middle of the forehead and developed at the expense of the other, which is thus often reduced to a single tine, and that he intended to describe this remarkable appearance. But in that case would not Caesar have written *excelsius altero* or something similar? I fear Caesar cannot be acquitted of the charge of having described the Reindeer as a 'Unicorn'.

30 *palmae ramique*] Caesar evidently compares the palmated extremity of reindeers' horns to the palm of the hand. Such a comparison would suggest itself to any one who had ever seen them. Nilsson, Skandinavisk Fauna, Däggdjuren, p. 502, calls them 'flathandslika', i.e. like the palm of the hand, so most other descriptive zoologists in terms almost similar. These 'palms' end in finger-like prolongations, the *rami* of Caesar, and 'tines' (A. S. *tan*=twig) in the technical language of those who have to do with deer. Cf. Pliny XI. 37. 45 *sparsit* (*natura cornua*) *in ramos, ut cervorum,......aliorum fudit in palmas, digitosque emisit ex his, unde platycerotas vocant.*

31 *natura*] 'general characteristics'.

eadem...cornuum] this is only partly correct: the horns of the female are of the same form as those of the male, but considerably less in magnitude. The Reindeer is the only European species of which the female has horns.

CHAP. 27.

32 *alces*] *alces* is a latinised form of the Teutonic Elg, Elch, or Elk. The animal is now hardly met with in Germany unless it be in the parts bordering on Poland.

33 *consimilis capris*] Caesar means *caprorum figurae:* this shortened form of comparison has been already noticed in 22 *cum suas quisque opes cum potentissimis* (=*potentissimorum opibus*) *aequari videat:* cf.

below 28 *amplitudo...differt.* The rectangular abruptness which characterises the hind quarters of a goat is equally observable in the Elk, and warrants the conclusion that Caesar had seen a living example of the latter. If so it was doubtless young, as Elks are not easily kept in confinement for any length of time, and this would also explain his subsequent statement *magnitudine paulo antecedunt* as well as *mutilae sunt cornibus*, for young elks bear no horns, though the adult male has them of considerable size. *varietas pellium* is justified by the whiteness of the tail beneath and of the inside of the legs.

p. 14. 1 *crura*] here Caesar is obviously relating only what he had heard, and those who know the marvellous misconceptions as to this animal to which mediaeval writers give currency will not be surprised at what he says. It is possible that the natives may have been in the habit of digging pitfalls for the animal and covering them over with timber partly cut through so as readily to give way beneath its weight; thus one could to a certain degree understand the possibility of the erroneous notion arising that the capture of the Elk was effected by weakening the supports against which it rested. A precisely similar belief, apparently originating with Ktesias of Knidos (flor. 400 B.C.), long prevailed with respect to the Elephant. The error is learnedly discussed by Sir Thomas Browne in his Pseudodoxia Epidemica or Enquiries into vulgar and common Errors, Bk. III. c. 1, 'That an elephant hath no joints, &c.'

3 *adflictae*] 'overthrown', so below *infirmas arbores adfligunt.*

erigere sese aut sublevare] there is little or no difference between the two verbs: cf. Liv. XXI. 58 *cum se quisque extollere ac levare vellet*, Cic. Fin. V. 39 *ars agricolarum quae (arbores) circumcidat, amputet, erigat, extollat, adminiculet.* Numerous examples of this use of synonyms in Nägelsbach Lat. Stil. § 81.

5 *paulum modo reclinatae*] 'slightly reclining', i. e. they almost stood erect.

8 *tantum ut summa...relinquatur*] 'only allowing them to retain the general appearance of standing upright'.

10 *consuetudine*] an adverbial ablative like *ratione, iure, natura* etc.: *sua* is sometimes added as in II. 19 etc.; in other passages as in I. 52 etc. *ex consuetudine sua* is found.

CHAP. 28.

12 *uri*] *urus* is the latinised form of the Teutonic Urochs or Auerochs, though the latter name since the extinction of its proper owner has been by many writers transferred to the Bison. The *urus* has long ceased to exist in Europe, unless it survives in the degenerate form of the so-called 'wild cattle' retained in certain English and Scottish parks (Chartley, Chillingham, and Hamilton). See Storer's 'Wild white cattle of Britain'. Its remains are found abundantly in many of the drift deposits both in England and on the continent, and were first scientifically described under the name of Bos Primigenius. They are mostly more or less fragmentary, but nearly perfect skeletons exist in the Museums of Jena, Lund and Cambridge. There is little doubt that the Wild Bull

and Unicorn (reêm) of the Authorised Version of the Bible refer to the same animal, which is represented in several of the Assyrian sculptures as being hunted and slain, and it has been suggested that the legend of the famous Dun Cow may have originated at a time, long before the days of Guy of Warwick, when the first settlers in Britain had to encounter the formidable urus.

16 *durant se*] 'harden themselves', 'make themselves hardy': the word is rare in this sense.

20 *ne parvuli quidem excepti*] 'not even when caught very young'.

21 *a nostrorum boum cornibus*] for the brevity of expression cf. supra 22, 27.

a cornibus differt] some of the best MSS omit *a*, wrongly, *differre* with the dative being found only in poetry and post-Augustan prose, cf. Madvig on Cic. Fin. V. 41.

22 *ab labris*] a good example of the use of *ab* almost in the sense of 'at', i. e. 'in the direction of', an extension of its original meaning of motion from a place: cf. such common phrases as *a dextra* 'on the right', i. e. 'starting from the right hand', 'in the direction of the right hand': so Cic. Verr. V. 13 *ne denudetur a pectore:* see Dräger Hist. Synt. II. 621. 'They surround them on the brim (lips) with silver', *labra* being the circular rim of the base of the hollowed horn. Pliny mentions these horn cups, *urorum cornibus barbari septentrionales potant, urnisque bina capitis unius cornua implent* H. N. II. 37. 45. The Germans drank beer, *umor ex hordeo aut frumento in quandam similitudinem vini corruptus*, and sometimes wine, Tac. Germ. 23. They were greatly addicted to drunkenness.

CHAP. 29.

25 *Ubios*] here used as an adjective.

27 *minime*] to be taken with *student*, 'pay very little heed to'.

30 *auxilia*] the reinforcements that they were in the habit of sending into Gaul.

32 *in extremo ponte*] at the broken end of the bridge. The cohorts were probably stationed on the left bank, unless, as Göler supposes, the bridge had been constructed near Kesselheim (cf. n. on 9), in which case the cohorts may have been posted on the island Niederwerth.

p. 15. 4 *Ambiorigis*] who, it will be remembered, was king of the Eburones.

5 *Arduennam silvam*] the length of more than 500 miles which Caesar assigns to this forest is of course, as Mr Long says, a monstrous exaggeration. Strabo, p. 194, speaks of the forest as πολλὴ μὲν οὐ τοσαύτη δὲ ὅσην οἱ συγγραφεῖς εἰρήκασι, τετρακισχιλίων σταδίων, where he is doubtless alluding to Caesar. Göler proposes to read *centum et quinquaginta* which would about represent the actual limits, but the MSS agree in *quingentis*.

10 *qua*] nom. fem. sing. agreeing with *significatio*.

CHAP. 30.

15 *quo in loco*] = *in eum locum in quo.*

17 *sicut magno accidit casu*] 'as it happened by a great chance': the words *magno casu* occur again in B. C. III. 14 *ita exiguo tempore magnoque casu totius exercitus salus constitit.* Cf. below, *magnae fortunae*, and 35 *quantos fortuna adferat casus*, 42 *ne minimo quidem casu.*

19 *priusque*] 'and that his arrival was seen by the men (Ambiorix and his party) before any report or message of it was brought'. For *fama ac nuntii* cf. VII. 8 *celeriter haec fama ac nuntii ad Vercingetorigem perferuntur* where however the reading is doubtful.

20 *sic magnae*] 'so it was a striking instance of fortune (chance) that though bereft of all the military stores that he had with him, his horses and wagons having been seized, he should nevertheless himself escape death'.

22 *sed hoc quoque factum est quod*...] lit. 'but it occurred also from the fact that'. Kraner points out that *hoc* is abl. and *quod* refers to it, 'through this fact, namely that' etc.: if *hoc* were nom. and *quod* were 'because', *quoque* would have no sense.

25 *silvarum atque fluminum*] so Tacitus says of the Germans (Germ. 16) *colunt discreti ac diversi, ut fons, ut campus, ut nemus placuit;...suam quisque domum spatio circumdat.*

CHAP. 31.

30 *iudicio*] 'deliberately'.

31 *tempore exclusus*] Cf. V. 23 *ne anni tempore a navigatione excluderetur.*

32 *cum crederet*] 'believing': contrast this with *quod existimarit* above, where the perf. subj. represents the perf. ind. in direct statement.

p. 16. 2 *paludes*] probably the marshy levels skirting the course of the Rhine: *continentes* = *continuas* 'continuous'.

3 *insulis*] the numerous islands in the estuaries of the Rhine and the Scheldt.

8 *omnibus precibus detestatus*] 'after invoking the bitterest imprecations on Ambiorix'.

9 *qui fuisset*] 'for having been'.

10 *taxo*] 'yew'; for its deadly properties see Pliny XVI. 10. 20. In Arcadia it was supposed to be fatal to those who slept or took food beneath its shade.

CHAP. 32.

11 *Segni*] the Segni occupied a small district in the present Rhine province between Bonn and Aix-la-Chapelle. Their name remains in the town of Sègne south of Givet. Desjardins places them lower in a valley of the upper Ourthe called the Oessenine.

Condrusi] the Condrusi, who were *clientes* of the Treveri, occupied the right bank of the Meuse and both banks of the Ourthe and were situated south of Aix-la-Chapelle. Their name survives in Condroz a district on the right bank of the Meuse.

12 *qui*] the antecedent is I think *Segni Condrusique* not *Germanorum* as Kraner takes it.

18 *si ita fecissent*] 'if they should do so'.

20 *Aduatucam*] Cohausen and Kampen suppose that this place is to be sought at or near Embourg a small village on the right bank of the Ourthe about 2 miles S.S.E. of Luttich a town close to the junction of the Ourthe and the Meuse. Kampen distinguishes between Aduatuca (Embourg) and the *oppidum Aduatucorum* of II. 29 which he places with Göler and others on M. Falhize near Huy. See my note on that passage. By others Aduatuca is thought to be Tongres.

21 *in mediis Eburonum finibus*] this expression, as Kampen confesses, scarcely suits his supposition that Aduatuca was at Embourg. He suggests that the name of some other tribe (in the gen. case) may have dropped out after *Eburonum*.

22 *Titurius atque Aurunculeius*] cf. V. 24.

23 *reliquis rebus*] 'on other accounts'.

25 *ut...sublevaret*] these words follow logically after *probarat* 'he had approved of' (almost = 'he had chosen') 'this place, in order to lighten the labour of the soldiers'.

27 *proxume conscriptas*] cf. supra 1.

CHAP. 33.

30 *ad Oceanum versus*] for *ad* or *in* with *versus* cf. note on VII. 8.

32 *ad eam regionem*] probably the district between the Meuse and the Demer, corresponding roughly to the Belgian province of Limburg. Napoleon and Göler.

p. 17. 1 *Scaldem*] the Scheldt, whose eastern arm, Easter Schelde, appears in Caesar's time to have joined the Meuse. There is no need to suppose with Göler that Caesar wrote *Sabrim*, the Sambre.

2 *extremas Arduennae partes*] between Brussels and Antwerp. Napoleon.

4 *post diem septimum...quam ad diem*] for the change of gender cf. I. 6 *diem dicunt qua die...conveniant: is dies erat a. d. V. Kal. Apr.*: below however 35 Caesar writes *dies appetebat septimus quem ad diem.*

9 *possent*] *hortatur* is an historical present and there is therefore no incorrectness in the use of the past tense *possent* in the final clause. The present is retained above in the conditional clause *si...possint*.

CHAP. 34.

10 *certa*] 'definite' (Kraner): this seems better than to understand the word as meaning 'trusty', as Schneider and Long do.

14 *vicinitatibus*] 'the neighbours', abstract for concrete: so we use the singular 'neighbourhood' in the concrete sense of 'neighbours'.

16 *non in summa*] 'not in protecting the army as a whole'. Kraner qu. B. C. I. 67 *etsi aliquo accepto detrimento tamen summa exercitus salva.*

18 *ex parte*] 'to a certain extent'.

20 *silvae*] 'the woods by reason of their uncertain and hidden pathways prevented them from approaching in a body'.

22 *stirpem*] 'the whole stock', cf. below *stirps ac nomen civitatis:* Liv. XXXIV. 2 *omne genus ab stirpe sublatum est*, XXXVII. 8 *exoleta stirpe gentis.*

27 *ut...providebatur*] 'precautionary measures were taken as far as care could ensure them amid difficulties of such a character'. For *ut* cf. Cic. Fam. XII. 2 *non nihil, ut in tantis malis, est profectum*, 'considering the extent of the troubles'.

CHAP. 35.

p. 18. 7 *fortuna*] Caesar had expressed the same sentiment before in 30.

10 *diripi*] present tense 'were being plundered'.

11 *ultro*] the force of this word can best be expressed here by a paraphrase: 'and that Caesar was going so far as to call out all the neighbouring tribes to the spoil'.

12 *Sugambri*] they occupied the right bank of the Rhine between the Sieg and the Lippe.

13 *Tencteros atque Usipetes*] these two tribes are generally mentioned together. They dwelt on the right bank of the Rhine north of the Lippe: cf. IV. 4. For their reception by the Sugambri see IV. 16.

14 *xxx mil. pass.*] supposing Göler to be right in the locality assigned by him for Caesar's second bridge (infra 9), viz. the village of Kesselheim just below Coblenz, the Germans must have crossed near Bonn.

17 *ex fuga dispersos*] 'dispersed in flight', lit. 'after', or 'in consequence of, their flight': cf. above *receptos ex fuga.*

24 *fortunatissimis*] on the whole the dative has better MS authority than *fortunatissimos* which would of course be equally correct, though the accusative is rare; cf. Dr Reid's note on Cic. p. Corn. Balbo § 29.

27 *ut...possit*] 'that it is not sufficient even to surround the wall', i. e. the garrison is so small that it would scarcely suffice to man the whole circle of the wall.

CHAP. 36.

31 *praeceptis Caesaris*] 'according to Caesar's precepts.'

33 *ne calonem quidem quemquam*] 'not even a single camp-follower'. The *calones* were the soldiers' servants, see S. D. A. s. v.

p. 19. 1 *diffidens*] 'not feeling confident that Caesar would keep his promise about the number of days'.

4 *illius*] Cicero's.

5 *nullum...posset*] 'expecting no such mischance that any harm should

befall (*quo offendi posset*) within the short space of three miles in the face of (*oppositis*) nine legions and a large body of cavalry, when the enemy were dispersed and almost annihilated'. *Offendi* is impersonal as in B. C. III. 72 qu. by Kraner.

10 *collis*] a short distance from the junction of the Ourthe and the Meuse near Luttich the small river Vesdre flows into the Ourthe. At first the course of the two rivers diverges rapidly, each curving outwards, but soon they trend towards each other again and approach to within a mile or so. In the half-enclosed circular space thus formed lies the little village of Embourg where Kampen supposes that Cicero was encamped; just below it and between the two elbows of the rivers is some rising ground which may be the hill here mentioned; over it on the side away from Embourg is some level ground where the troops may have gone foraging.

11 *hoc spatio dierum*] i. e. within the seven days since the legions left.

12 *sub vexillo*] 'they formed a special detachment with a *vexillum*, which must be distinguished from the regular colours (*signa*) of the legion.' (Kraner.)

14 *facta potestate*] 'permission having been granted'.

CHAP. 37.

14 *hoc ipso tempore et casu*] 'just at this critical moment'.

18 *adpropinquarent*] one would rather have expected *appropinquabant* here and *poterat* for *posset* in the similar passage III. 23, *prius in castris constiterunt quam plane ab his videri...posset*, since Caesar is apparently merely stating the sequence of the two events. But the subjunctive may obscurely imply the intention of the barbarians not to be seen before they approached the camp. For the distinction of moods after *priusquam*, cf. Reid on Cic. p. Corn. Balb. § 18.

19 *mercatores*] the Roman armies were usually followed by itinerant traders called *lixae* 'sutlers'; cf. B. Afr. 75 *lixarum mercatorumque qui plostris merces portabant interceptis sarcinis*.

recipiendi sui] cf. n. on V. 38, III. 4.

21 *circumfunduntur*] 'the enemy pour around on the remaining sides (of the camp) to see if they can (lit. 'could') find any entrance'. Beware of translating *circumfunduntur* 'are surrounded'.

23 *reliquos aditus*] 'other means of approach' (except by the gates): *defendit* 'prevents'.

29 *plerique novas*] 'many draw novel superstitions from the locality'.

30 *qui...castello*] 'reflecting that they fell in the same fort'. *occiderint*, representing the perfect indicative in direct discourse. Caesar is representing the thoughts or expressions of the Roman soldiers and hence uses the subjunctive.

CHAP. 38.

p. 20. 3 *Baculus*] cf. II. 25, III. 5.

primum pilum duxerat] 'had commanded the first *pilus*', i. e. the first maniple of the *triarii*. The centurion in command of the *primus pilus* is himself called *primus pilus* or *primipilus* as Baculus is in II. 25.

10 *relinquit animus Sextium*] 'Sextius faints'.

11 *per manus tractus*] 'dragged from hand to hand'; cf. VII. 25 *per manus traditas glebas*, 47 *mulieres per manus demissae.*

13 *speciem defensorum praebeant*] cf. III. 25 *cum speciem atque opinionem pugnantium praeberent.*

CHAP. 39.

15 *exaudiunt*] 'catch the sound of'. *exaudire* is to catch a sound coming from any quarter. This is, I believe, a more correct explanation than that usually given, that the word means 'to hear clearly': cf. V. 30 *et id clariore voce ut magna pars militum exaudiret* where the meaning is 'that his words might reach them'. Cic. Acad. II. 20 *quam multa quae nos fugiunt in cantu exaudiunt in eo genere exercitati*, 'catch'.

19 *quid...expectant*] 'they wait to see what orders they (the officers) give'.

20 *rei novitate perturbetur*] in 37 *re nova perturbantur.*

CHAP. 40.

24 *tumulum*] probably the *collis* mentioned in 36.

25 *in signa manipulosque*] each maniple had its own standard, cf. 34 *si continere ad signa manipulos vellet.*

27 *ut perrumpant*] this depends on *censent.*

28 *sint*] subjunctive because the clause is subordinate, cf. supra I *quoniam ipse remaneret.*

29 *at*] 'yet at least': *certe* is often appended to *at* in this sense.

32 *C. Trebonio*] not the C. Trebonius mentioned in 33 and 34.

p. 21. 4 *etiam nunc*] 'even then', 'even after that'. Caesar writing vividly, as though the event were going on before his eyes, uses *nunc* where *tum* would have been more natural.

9 *ex inferioribus ordinibus*] it will be remembered that the legion under Cicero had been newly levied, hence Caesar had drafted into it some centurions of the inferior centùries (*ordines*) of his trained legions: of the 60 centurions of each legion, 30 were styled *priores* and 30 *posteriores.*

14 *pars...perit*) two of the five cohorts were destroyed, cf. 44.

CHAP. 41.

16 *in silvis*] cf. 35 end, *quam nancti erant praedam in occulto relinquunt.*

19 *Volusenus*] called in III. 5 *vir et consilii magni et virtutis.*

21 *alienata mente*] this passage has apparently been overlooked by Forcellini and by Lewis and Short in their account of the phrase. It occurs in Livy, Suetonius, Pliny, etc.

23 *neque...contenderent*] 'and maintained that had the army been safe the Germans would not have attacked the camp': *et contenderent Germanos non fuisse* etc.

Chap. 42.

25 *eventus*] acc. pl., 'not unaware of the issues (chances) of war'.

26 *unum*] to be taken with *questus*, 'only making one complaint'. Caesar emphasizes his forbearance, for it is evident that Cicero had shown great lack of presence of mind during the surprise as well as of prudence before it.

27 *ne...debuisse*] parenthetical: (asserting) 'that opportunity ought not to have been left for the very slightest contingency (risk)'. *casu* dative, for *casui*. *locum relinquere* 'to leave room for' occurs in v. 52.

28 *multum fortunam*] Caesar seems to have been much impressed just at this period by the influence of fortune in human affairs, cf. supra 30, 35.

29 *iudicavit*] 'came to the conclusion'.

amplius] sc. *fortunam potuisse.*

30 *avertisset*] the subject is *fortuna.*

p. 22. 1 *beneficium*] by inflicting loss on the Romans.

Chap. 43.

8 *anni tempore*] probably the late autumn.

9 *in praesentia*] *praesentia* is the acc. pl. of *praesens.*

11 *locum*] not used here of an actual locality but of a 'situation' of events: 'they often arrived at the situation'.

12 *ut modo*] 'that the captives were looking about for Ambiorix whom they had just seen in his flight'.

13 *nec plane*] 'and maintaining that he had scarcely vanished from their sight': *nec* only qualifies *plane*, cf. supra 41.

15 *qui putarent*] 'inasmuch as they thought'.

16 *paene naturam*] 'exerted themselves to an almost superhuman degree'.

18 *latebris aut saltibus*] instrumental ablatives, 'by means of hiding-places or thick woods'.

Chap. 44.

23 *Durocortorum*] Rheims.

29 *in Lingonibus*] probably at Andematunnum afterwards called Lingones now Langres, the chief town in the district occupied by the Lingones.

30 *Agedinci*] Sens.

31 *ut instituerat*] 'as his practice was': this has reference to the following words *in Italiam*, etc.

APPENDIX.

A BRIEF list of the chief MSS of the Bellum Gallicum is given in an appendix to my edition of Books I, II, to which I may here refer, merely repeating that the best MSS, according to Frigell's estimate of their value, are lettered P R A M V; and the second class T L U H.

P. 1, l. 6, *consul* Ciacconius, Holder, possibly right.

P. 2, l. 4, *ac* is found before *Menapios* in all MSS except T U. It is rightly omitted by Kraner.

P. 2, l. 31, *arbitratur* P R A M V U, *arbitrabatur* G, needlessly adopted by Nipperdey and Frigell.

P. 4, l. 1, for *eorum* Schambach proposes *Remorum*, and would strike out the words *in Treveros* in **P. 3, l. 18**.

hiemabat T U, but the pluperfect can stand in the sense 'had gone into winter-quarters'; the imperfect would mean 'was in winter-quarters'.

P. 4, l. 13, *consilio* P R A V T U, which I retain. Kraner has *concilio* here, but retains *consilio* in III. 3, though there *concilio* is supported by three MSS. No doubt *concilium* is properly 'council' and *consilium* 'counsel', but there may have been the same confusion between the Latin words in the classical period (*consilium* used for *concilium* but not perhaps *vice versâ*) as is sometimes found between their English representatives. At the time at which our MSS were written *c* was becoming, or had already become, assimilated in sound to *s*, which would aid the confusion. In an uncertain matter I follow the guidance of the MSS. Paul and Holder omit *in consilio*.

P. 4, l. 17, *Gallicis* T L U H, *Gallos Gallicis* P R A M V J : *Gallos* is probably an interpolation. Frigell writes simply *nonnullos Gallorum rebus*.

P. 5, l. 29, *Ubii* A, *Ubi hi* T, *Ubi ii* U ; see below and I. 54 for a similar confusion.

P. 6, l. 1, *vellet* P R A M V, *velit* T U H, which Frigell adopts.

P. 6, l. 3, *Ubiorum* only found in one of the early editions, P R A V T U have *Ubi horum*.

MSS *accepit*, which can hardly be right.

P. 6, l. 21, Paul and Holder bracket the words *iniuriis incursionibusque*.

P. 6, l. 26, *pagis partibusque* P R A M V T U, Frigell needlessly omits *partibusque*. Before *singulis* Schneider Kraner and Holder insert *in* with T L U H.

P. 7, l. 33, *audet* M, *aut &* A, *per se nichil audet* (*audent* L) T U H, *habet* R V J, which latter reading is adopted by Frigell, but *audet* is clearly right.

nullo R A M V J, *nulli* T L U H; *nullo* is an old form of the dative; cf. *toto* in VII. 89, VIII. 34.

P. 8, l. 3, Dinter followed by Holder inserts *quibus* after *nobilibus*, so that the sentence reads—*sese in servitutem dicant nobilibus quibus in hos eadem omnia sunt iura &c.* The change is a very probable one but I have not ventured to introduce it into the text.

P. 8, l. 20, the MSS vary between *quis* and *qui*: *si quis* and *si qui* would seem to have been used almost indiscriminately.

P. 8, l. 31, Paul and Holder omit the words *militiae...inmunitatem*.

P. 9, l. 22, *omnis* T U, *omnium* P R A M V.

P. 9, l. 27, *nisi hominis vita* U H, *nonnisi hominis vita* A M G, *nonnisi vita hominis* P R V, *nisi vita hominis* J.

P. 9, l. 33, *noxia* A M T, *noxa* P R V U H J; see note.

P. 10, l. 11, *regere* P R A T, U J have the more obvious *gerere*.

P. 10, l. 13, *superaverunt* is found in some early editions, P R A V have *superaverint*, T U *superarint*; the indicative is adopted by Nipperdey, Kraner, Frigell; cf. note on 15 *cum est usus*.

P. 10, l. 22, *mensium* A T U and R (*man. sec.*), *mensum* R and P (*man. sec.*).

P. 10, l. 31, I doubtfully follow Kraner and Frigell in reading *superavit*, the MSS have *superaverit* or *superarit*, so Nipperdey and Holder.

P. 11, l. 12, *aut* R A M V J, *ac* T L U, *aud* P.

P. 12, l. 3, *qui cum una* P R A J and M (*man. sec.*), *quiq. una* T H. Frigell writes *qui communiter coierunt*. Can Caesar have written *quicunque una coierunt?*

P. 12, l. 12, T joins *civitatibus* to the previous sentence; this is due to a misunderstanding of the construction on the part of the copyist. See note on *cum potentissimis*.

P. 12, l. 31, *quaque* P R A M V J, *quacuq;* TUH: no doubt Madvig is right in saying that *quacunque* should be read, though he wrongly estimates the value of the MSS, Excursus VI. on Cic. de Fin. p. 834 (ed. 2); so too Nipperdey. Frigell has *quaqua*, Schneider and Kraner *quaque;* Schneider's arguments in defence of the word seem to me unsuccessful.

P. 13, l. 9, Heller inserts *ante* between *qua* and *Germani*, though there is no trace of a word being lost in the MSS, and Kraner follows him. Aldus and Nipperdey have *patientiaque* for *patientia qua*, and the

latter *quidem* for *quod:* it is quite possible that the reading of Aldus (*quod...patientiaque*) may be right, in which case *eadem* must be taken as equivalent to *eadem qua ante*, a quite admissible sense, but on the whole I have preferred to follow Heller and Kraner; so too Holder.

P. 13, l. 22, *aut audisse aut adisse* P R A M V T U; the editors rightly omit the first two words, which may have arisen from the notion of a copyist that *audisse* (depending on *dicat*) should be substituted for *acceperit*, or *audisse* may have been an alternative for *adisse* suggested in the margin: cf. infra, p. 22, l. 18.

P. 14, l. 20, *mansueti fieri* P R V J, *mansuefieri* A, *mansue fieri* M U, *mansuae fieri* T.

P. 15, l. 17, *sicut* was first inserted by Stephanus and is adopted by Schneider, Nipperdey, and Kraner. Frigell inserts *ut* before *accidit*.

P. 15, l. 19, *omnibus* A M T L U, *hominibus* P R V J; the latter is adopted by Schneider and Frigell.

P. 16, l. 8, *belli* P R A M V, *aut belli* T L U H.

P. 17, l. 12, *ubi cuique* T U, *ubicumque* P R A M V L; all MSS read *consederat*, hence *ubi cuique* is probably right. Frigell has *ubicunque...consederant*.

P. 17, l. 17, *ab* om. MSS.

P. 17, l. 32, *omnes evocat* T U, so Vielhaber and Kraner as more in accordance with Caesar's usage than *ad se vocat*, which Schneider, Nipperdey, and Frigell retain. Kraffert suggests *ad se evocat*. Holder follows Paul in omitting *ad diripiendos Eburones*.

P. 18, l. 14, *transeunt* A M T U, *transeunti* P R V, *transeuntes* J G. Frigell with some probability reads *transeunt ii*.

P. 18, l. 24, the MSS vary between *fortunatissimos* and *fortunatissimis*. Dubner, Heller, Kraner, Frigell, Holder prefer the former. See note.

P. 19, l. 5, Paul and Holder eject the words *siquidem ex castris egredi non liceret*.

P. 20, l. 19, *est fortis* P R A M V G J, *est tam fortis* T L U H. Frigell needlessly *tam est*. Paul and Holder would omit the whole sentence.

P. 21, l. 7, *potuerunt* T U, *poterant* G, *potuerant* P R A M V, which may be right.

P. 21, l. 27, *casu* P A M V, *casui* T U H.

Pluygers, with Cobet's approval, suggests *minimum* to agree with *locum*.

P. 22, l. 2, *obtulerunt* P A M, *obtulerant beneficium* T H.

P. 22, l. 6, after *incendebantur* T U H insert *pecora interficiebantur*.

P. 22, l. 7, *tanta* P R A M V G, *a tanta* T L U H; *tanta multitudine* may well be an ablative 'of attendant circumstances' and the preposition is not required. But Schneider and Kraner adopt it.

P. 22, l. 13, Pluygers would omit *circumspicerent* and the sentence would not lose by its removal.

P. 22, l. 18, T U H insert *aut silvis* before *aut saltibus*, *silvis* was probably at first suggested in the margin as an alternative for, or explanation of, *saltibus*; cf. supra p. 13, l. 22, *aut audisse aut adisse* for *aut adisse*.

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